













# SHIPWRECKS

AND

## DISASTERS AT SEA;

OR

### HISTORICAL NARRATIVES

OF THE

MOST NOTED CALAMITIES AND PROVIDENTIAL DELIVERANCES,  
WHICH HAVE RESULTED FROM

**Maritime Enterprise :**

WITH A SKETCH OF VARIOUS EXPEDIENTS FOR  
PRESERVING THE

LIVES OF MARINERS.

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*IN THREE VOLUMES.*

VOLUME II.

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**SHIPWRECKS**  
**AND**  
**DISASTERS AT SEA.**

**VOL. II.**

**A**





# SHIPWRECK



AND

## DISASTERS AT SEA.

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LOSS OF THE NOTTINGHAM GALLEY, 11TH DECEMBER 1710. BY CAPTAIN JOHN DEAN\*.

THE Nottingham Galley of 120 tons, 10 guns, and 14 men, commanded by Captain John Dean, the author of the following narrative, sailed with different commodities from England and Ireland, for Boston, on the 25th of September 1710.

“ Meeting with contrary winds,” the narrator proceeds, “ and bad weather, it was the beginning of December before we first made land, to the eastward of Piscataqua, in New England. We then hauled southerly for Massachuset’s Bay, under a hard gale of wind at north-east, accompanied with rain, hail, and snow, which prevented an observation being made during ten or twelve days. On the 11th we handed all our sails, except

\* The original account of this shipwreck is now of rare occurrence. What is related here has been obtained from different editions of it, and other sources.

the fore-sail ; kept it and the main-top-sail double-reefed, ordering one hand forward to look out. Between eight and nine in the evening, going forward myself, I saw breakers ahead, whereon I called out to put the helm hard a-starboard ; but before the ship could wear, and indeed my orders were so ill obeyed that she struck on the east end of the rock called *Boon Island*, seven leagues eastward of Piscataqua River.

The second or third sea hove the ship alongside of the island ; she laboured so violently, and the waves ran so high, that we were unable to stand on deck ; and although the rock was not above thirty or forty yards distant, the weather was so thick, that we could not see it. Thus we were justly thrown into consternation, at the sad prospect of quickly perishing in the sea. I immediately called all hands down to the cabin, where we continued a few minutes, earnestly supplicating mercy of Providence. But well knowing that prayers without exertions are vain, I ordered all up again to cut the masts by the board. Several, however, sunk so completely under the racks of conscience, that they were unable to move. We on deck, nevertheless, cut the weathermost shrouds ; and the vessel heeling towards the rock, the force of the sea soon broke the masts, and they fell towards the shore.

One of the men went out on the bowsprit, and on returning, told me that he saw something black ahead, and would venture to get on shore accompanied by any other person. I therefore desired some of my best swimmers, being my mate and one more, to go with him, and if they recovered the rock, to give notice of it by their shouts, and direct us to the most secure place.

Remembering some money and papers that might be of use, and also trying to save some brandy and ammunition, I went down and opened the places where they were; but the ship bilging, her decks opening, her back breaking, and the beams giving way, so that the stern ~~sunk~~ almost under water, I was obliged to ~~launch~~ forward to save myself from immediate destruction.

Having heard nothing of the first adventurers, I concluded them lost; yet notwithstanding this, I was under the necessity of myself making the same venture on the foremast, stripping off most of my clothes, and moving gradually forward betwixt every sea, until at last quitting it, I cast myself with all my strength towards the rock. But the water being quite low, and the rock extremely slippery, I could get no hold, and lacerated my hands and arms in a miserable manner. Every wash of the sea brought me off again, so that it was with the utmost peril and difficulty that at length I got safe ashore. The rest of the men were exposed to the same dangers; still, through the mercy of heaven, we all escaped with our lives.

After endeavouring to discharge the salt water I had swallowed, and creeping a little way up the rock, I heard the three men mentioned before; and against ten o'clock, having all met together, we with joyful hearts returned humble thanks to Providence for our ~~deliverance~~ deliverance from such imminent perils. Next we tried to gain shelter to the leeward of the rock, but found it so small and inconsiderable, being but one hundred yards long, and fifty broad, that it could afford none; and likewise so extremely craggy, that we could not ~~walk~~ to

keep ourselves warm. The weather yet continued excessively cold, with rain and snow.

As soon as day-light appeared, I repaired towards the place where we came ashore, expecting to find sufficient provisions for our sustenance from the wreck; but nothing could be procured, except several pieces of the masts and yards, among some old junk and cables, which the anchors had prevented from being carried away, and kept floating at some distance about the rock. Part of the ship's stores, with pieces of plank and timber, old sails, and canvas, drove on shore; but no provisions, except some small fragments of cheese, which we picked up from amongst the rock weed, amounting in all to the quantity of three small cheeses.

We used our utmost endeavours to obtain fire, by means of a steel and flint which we had with us, and also by means of a drill with a very swift motion, but having nothing except what had been long soaked in water, we were unsuccessful; and, after persisting eight or ten days, abandoned it as a fruitless attempt. At night we crowded upon one another under canvas, so as to preserve our mutual heat.

Next day, the weather clearing a little, and tending to frost, I went out, and, observing the main land, ascertained it to be Cape Neddock. I therefore encouraged my men with the hopes of being discovered by fishing shallops or other vessels, in their occasional passages hither, and desired them to go about and bring together whatever planks they could procure; as also carpenter's tools, stores, and the like, for the purpose of building a boat.

The cook then complaining that he was almost starved, and his countenance indicating his illness,



I ordered him to remain with two or three more, whom the frost had seized. About noon, the men acquainted me that he was dead; therefore, we laid him in a convenient place for the sea to carry him away. None then proposed to eat his body, though several afterwards acknowledged that they, as well as myself, had thoughts of it.

After we had remained here two or three days, the weather being excessively cold, and the frost very intense, it affected the hands and feet of most of us to such a degree as to deprive them of sensation, and render them almost useless. They were also benumbed and discoloured in such a manner, as to create great apprehensions of ensuing mortification. We pulled off our shoes and cut off our boots; but, in getting free of our stockings, many of us, whose legs were blistered, pulled away skin and all, and likewise some of the nails of their toes. We wrapped our legs and feet as warm up as possible in oakum and canvas; but those who were most active, preserved their health better than the others.

We now began to build a tent of a triangular form, each side being about eight feet long. It was covered with such sails and old canvas as came ashore. Within there was just room for us all to lie down, each on one side, so that none could turn unless the whole turned, which was done about every two hours, on notice given. We also fixed a staff to the ~~top~~ of the tent, on which was hoisted a piece of cloth like a flag, as often as the weather would permit, in order to attract the attention of any vessels that might come near.

We likewise commenced building a boat of the planks and timber belonging to the wreck. Our tools were, the blade of a cutlass, made into a saw

with our knives, a hammer, and a caulking mallet. We found some nails in the clefts of the rock, and got others out of the sheathing. Three planks were laid flat for the bottom, and two, designed for each side, fixed to staunchings, and let into the bottom timbers, with two short pieces at each end. One breadth of new Holland duck was likewise put round the sides, to keep out the spray of the sea. We caulked all that was possible with oakum drawn from the old junk, and filled up the crevices with long pieces of canvas, secured as well as might be. Some sheet-lead and leather, which we found, proved of use. A short mast was put up, to which we fixed a square sail, and prepared seven paddles to row, and one longer than these for steering. But the carpenter, who at this time would have been of most use to us, was, from indisposition, scarcely able to afford either assistance or advice; and all the rest, except myself and two more, were so benumbed and feeble as to be unable to move. The weather, besides, was of such extreme rigour, that we could seldom stay above four hours of the day out of the tent, and some days we could do nothing at all.

After having been here about a week without any kind of provisions, except the cheese already mentioned, and some beef bones, which we ate after being beaten to pieces, we saw three boats nearly five leagues distant from the rock. This, it may be easily imagined, rejoiced us not a little, believing that the day of our deliverance was now arrived. I caused all the men creep out of the tent, and shout aloud together as far as our strength could accomplish; and we also made all the signals we could devise, but in vain; for they neither heard nor saw us. However, the sight of them was

no small encouragement; because their coming from the south-west, and the wind being at north-east, gave us reason to conclude that our distress might be known by the wreck driving on shore. Thence we presumed that they were come out in search of us, and that they would daily do so when the weather permitted. In this manner did we flatter ourselves with fruitless hopes of deliverance.

Just before finishing our boat, Providence had so ordained that the carpenter's axe was cast upon the rock by the sea, whereby we were enabled to complete our work. But we had then hardly strength enough to get her into the water.

About the 21st of December, the boat being just perfected, the day fine, and the water smooth, smoother than ever we had seen it, we consulted who should make the attempt to gain the shore. I thereupon offered myself as one of the adventurers, which the rest agreed to, because I was the strongest, and therefore fittest to undergo whatever extremities we might be reduced to. My mate, also desirous of trying it, offered himself as one to accompany me, therefore I was allowed him, my brother, and four more. Thus committing our enterprise to Divine Providence, all who were able came out of the tent, and with much difficulty we got our poor patched up boat to the water side, where the surf running very high, we were obliged to wade very deep to launch her. This being done, and I with another having embarked, the swell of the sea heaved her along shore, and over-set her upon us, whereby we narrowly escaped being drowned; and the unlucky boat was entirely staved in pieces. In this manner was our enter-



prise disappointed, and our hopes all at once destroyed.

What still heightened our afflictions, and served to aggravate our miserable prospects, and render our deliverance less practicable, was losing, with the boat, both the axe and hammer, which would have been of great use, had we afterwards attempted to build a raft. Yet we had reason to admire the goodness of God in making our disappointment the means of our safety; for that afternoon the wind rising, blew very hard, so that had we been at sea in such an imitation of a boat, we should in all probability, have perished; and the rest left behind could have met no better a fate, as they were unable to help themselves.

We were now reduced to the most deplorable and melancholy situation imaginable, almost every man but myself being weak to extremity, and nearly starved with hunger and cold. Their hands and feet were frozen and mortified, they had large deep ulcers in their legs, offensive to us who could crawl out to the open air, and wanted every thing wherewith to dress them, excepting a piece of linen which was cast ashore. We had no fire; the weather continued excessively cold; our small stock of cheese was exhausted, and nothing left to support our feeble bodies but rock-weed and a few mussels, scarce and difficult to be got, and, at most, not above two or three a-day for each man. Thus our wretched bodies were perishing, and our inconsolable spirits overpowered with the dreadful apprehension of starving, without any appearance of relief. Besides, to heighten this accumulation of evils, if possible, we had reason to fear that the approaching spring tides, if accompanied by high winds, might totally overflow the rock where we had esta-



blished our miserable abode. How dismal such a situation must have been cannot be expressed. The pinching of cold and hunger, the extremity of pain and weakness, the racks of horror and conscience to many, and foresight of certain but lingering death, destitute of the most remote views of escaping. How heightened, how aggravated, was such misery! yet it was true. Most of our company were thence ready to die with horror and despair, without the smallest hopes of succour.

For my own part, I did my utmost to encourage myself, and exhorted the rest to trust in God, and patiently wait for his salvation. Providence, a little to alleviate our distress, and fortify our faith, guided my mate to strike down a sea gull, which he joyfully brought to me; and I distributed an equal portion to every one. Though raw, and scarce a mouthful to each, we received and ate it thankfully. God was pleased to indulge me, not only with greater health of body, but even with vigour of mind above the rest, and I was the better enabled to labour in their behalf.

The last method of safety which we could possibly devise, was constructing a raft that might carry two men. This was earnestly urged by one of our people, a Swede, a stout brave fellow; but who had, during our distress, lost the use of both his feet by the frost. He frequently importuned me to attempt our deliverance by such an expedient, and offered to accompany me, or if I refused, to go alone. After deliberate thoughts and consideration, we resolved on framing a raft. It was very difficult and laborious, however, to clear the fore-yard, of which it was chiefly to be made, from the junk, on account that our work-

ing hands were so few and weak, and our tools so scanty.

But we accomplished it, and split the yard asunder. Side-pieces, twelve feet long, were made of the two parts. Other spars were fixed, and some of the lightest planks we could procure added, to the breadth of four feet, first spiking, and then fastening them firm. We likewise put up a mast, and made a sail of two hammocks that were drove ashore; also a paddle for each man, and a spare oar in case of necessity.

The difficulty thus surmounted, and the work brought to a period, the Swede would frequently ask me, whether I meant to accompany him; and gave me to understand, that if I declined it, there was another ready to embrace the offer.

About the present time, having observed a sail come out of Piscataqua River, towards 7 leagues to the westward, we again made all the signals we could; but the wind being at north-west, and the ship standing to eastward, she was quickly out of sight, without ever coming near us, which was a great mortification to our hopes.

The next day being moderate, and a slight breeze setting in right on shore, as the raft was wholly finished, the two men were very solicitous to have it launched; which the mate as strenuously opposed, because it was then too late, being two in the afternoon. But they, urging the light nights, begged of me to have it done, to which I at last agreed, first committing the enterprise to God's blessing. Both got upon it, but the swell rolling very much, soon overset the raft, as it did our boat. The Swede, disregarding the accident, swam ashore; the other, however, being no swim-

mer, continued some time under water. As soon as he appeared, I caught hold of him and saved him; but he was so much discouraged, that he was afraid to make a second attempt.

I then desired the Swede to assist in getting the raft out of the water, that he might abide a more favourable opportunity; but he, though unable to stand, persisted in his resolution; and, as he was kneeling on the rock, caught hold of my hand, and vehemently besought me to accompany him on the raft. "I am sure I shall die," said he, "but I have great hopes of being the means of saving your life, and that of the rest of the people. If you will not go, however, as I am resolutely bent to venture, though by myself alone, I beg you to aid me in turning the raft, and to help me upon it." I endeavoured, still farther, to dissuade him, representing the impossibility of reaching the main-land in twice the time he might have done before, being deprived of the mast and sail; but he remained inflexible, adding, with imprecations, that he had rather perish in the sea, than stay one day longer in such a wretched condition.

By this time another man came down and offered to adventure; therefore, they got upon the raft, and I launched them off, they pathetically desiring us to go to prayers, as also to watch what came of them; I did so, and by sun-set, judged them half-way to the main, and supposed that they might reach the shore about two in the morning. But I conceive that they fell in with breakers, or that the violence of the sea overset them, and thus they perished, as it blew hard in the night; for two days afterwards, the raft was found on shore, and one man dead about a mile from it, with a paddle fastened to his wrist; but the Swede, who



was so very forward in the enterprise, was never heard of more.

We, on the desolate island, waited daily for deliverance; and our expectations rose the higher, by observing a smoke in two days issuing from the woods, which was the signal preconcerted if the men arrived safe. As it continued every day, and as we were willing to believe that it was made on our own account, though we saw no appearance of any thing towards our relief, we, nevertheless, supposed that the delay was occasioned by their not being able to procure a vessel so soon as they desired; and this hope, under God, served to bear up our spirits and support us.

But still our great want was provisions, for we had nothing to eat but rock weed, and a very few mussels; and the spring-tide being over, safely thank God, we could scarce get any at all. When no other person was able, I have, myself, gone several days to the shore at low water, without procuring more than two or three a piece, which, when obtained, my stomach refused, and rather received rock weed. I was frequently in danger of losing my hands and arms, by putting them so often in the water.

On our first arrival we saw several seals upon the rock; and supposing that they might harbour there in the night, I walked round it at midnight, but could never get any of them. We also saw a great many fowls, but they perceiving us daily there, would not come to the rock to lodge, so that we caught none.

This disappointment was very grievous, and served to aggravate our miseries still more. But it bore with additional affliction on a brother I had with me, and another young gentleman, neither of

whom had ever been at sea, or before endured any severities. They were now reduced to the last extremity, having no assistance but what they received from me.

Meantime we were tolerably well supplied with fresh water from the rain and melted snow in the cavities of the rock; but during frost we preferred ice, which I carried in lumps to the side of the tent. We drank the water out of a powder horn; and it was given in the same way to the sick within the tent.

Part of a green hide, fastened to a piece of the main-yard, being thrown up by the sea, the men importuned me to bring it to the tent, which, when done, we minced small, and swallowed it voraciously.

About this time I set the men to open out junk; and, when the weather would permit, I thatched the tent, in the best manner my strength allowed, with the rope-yarn, that it might the better shelter us from the rigour of the climate. It proved of such service, as to resist two or three hours of rain, and preserved us from the cold pinching winds, which were always very severe upon us. Further, it was useful for making bands, in which I swathed myself up at night, on parting with my wet clothes.

About the latter end of December, our carpenter, aged towards 47, a corpulent man, and naturally of a dull heavy phlegmatic constitution and disposition, complained of an excessive pain in his back, and stiffness in his neck. From our first coming on shore he had always been very ill, and lost the use of his feet; and was now also almost choked with phlegm, for want of strength to discharge it, so that in our apprehension he drew near his end. We prayed over him, and used our

utmost endeavours to be serviceable to him in his last moments; though speechless, he shewed that he was sensible, and died that night.

We suffered the body to remain with us till morning, when I desired those who were best able to remove it. I crept out myself to see whether Providence had yet sent us any thing to satisfy our craving appetites. Returning before noon, and observing that the dead body still remained, I asked the men why they had not removed it: to which they answered, that all were not able. I therefore fastened a rope to it, and, giving the utmost of my assistance, we, with some difficulty, got it out of the tent. But the fatigue and consideration of our misery together, so overcame my spirits, that, being ready to faint, I crept into the tent, and was no sooner there, than, as the highest aggravation of distress, the men began requesting me to give them the body of their lifeless comrade to eat, the better to support their own existence.

This was of all I had hitherto experienced the most grievous and shocking to me, to see myself and my company, who, but three weeks before, were laden with provisions, now reduced to such a deplorable situation, that two of us were absolutely starved to death: we knew not what was become of other two, and the rest, though still surviving, were at the last extremity, and necessitated to eat the dead for support of their lives.

After mature reflection and consultation on the lawfulness or sinfulness of the act on the one hand, and absolute necessity on the other, judgment, conscience, and other considerations were obliged to submit to the more prevailing arguments of our craving appetite. Therefore, we at last determined to satisfy our hunger, and support our

feeble bodies with the carcase of the deceased. We first ordered his skin, head, hands, feet, and bowels to be buried in the sea, and the body to be quartered, for convenience of drying and carriage. To these directions, I again received for answer, that all the people were unable; but they entreated that I would perform it for them—a task very grievous, and not readily complied with; but their incessant prayers and entreaties at last prevailed, and by night I had completed my labour.

I then cut part of the flesh into thin slices, and, washing it in salt water, brought it to the tent, where I obliged the men to eat rock weed along with it, to serve instead of bread. The first portion that I myself ate was the gristly part of the breast, scraped clean of flesh; yet my stomach loathed it, though the cruel cravings of hunger had led me oftener than once to survey the sore extremities of my fingers with a longing eye.

My mate and two others refused to eat any that night; but next morning complied, and earnestly desired to partake with the rest.

I found that they all ate abundantly, and with the utmost greediness; so that I was constrained to carry the quarters farther from the tent, to a craggy eminence, quite out of their reach, lest they might injure themselves by over-eating, as also, consume our small stock too soon.

I likewise limited each man to an equal proportion, that none might quarrel, or entertain hard thoughts of myself, or of one another; and I was the more obliged to pursue this method, because, in a few days, I found their very natural dispositions changed; and that affectionate peaceable temper they had hitherto displayed altogether lost. Their eyes were wild and staring, their countenances fierce



and barbarous, and, instead of obeying my commands, as they had universally and readily done before, I found that all I could say, and even prayers and entreaties, were vain and fruitless. Nothing was now to be heard but brutish quarrels, instead of that quiet submissive spirit of prayer and supplication which we had previously enjoyed. Nor were these the only evils, for the ulcerations of the people became worse, from feeding on human flesh ; and I suffered equally in this respect.' But taking the fat from the kidneys of the deceased, I made a salve of it, and applied it to the parts affected.

This, together with the dismal prospect of future want, obliged me to keep a strict watch over the rest of the body, lest any of the men, if able, should get to it ; and when it was consumed, that we should be forced to feed on the living, which we must certainly have done had we staid a few days longer.

But now the goodness of God began to appear, and make provision for our deliverance, by putting it into the hearts of the good people, where our raft drove ashore, to come out in search of us, on the morning of the 2d of January.

Just while I was crawling out of the tent, I saw a shallop, half-way from shore, standing directly towards us, which it may be easily imagined was life from death. How great our joys and satisfactions were, at the prospect of so speedy and unexpected a deliverance, no tongue is able to express, nor thoughts can conceive.

Our good and welcome friends came<sup>o</sup> to an anchor, at about 100 yards distance to the southwest, the swell preventing them from approaching nearer. But their anchor coming home, obliged them to stand off until about noon, waiting for



smoother water upon the flood. Meantime, our passions were differently moved; our expectations of deliverance, and apprehensions of disappointment, strongly affected our weak and disordered spirits.

I gave the strangers an account of our miseries in every respect, except the want of provisions. This I did not mention, lest it might restrain them from coming on shore, from the fear of being forced by the weather to remain with us. I earnestly entreated them to attempt our immediate deliverance, or at least, if possible, to furnish us with fire, which, with the utmost hazard and difficulty, they at last accomplished, by sending a small canoe with one man, who, with great labour, made the shore.

After helping him up with his canoe, and observing nothing to eat, I asked him whether he could give us some fire, which he answered in the affirmative. His astonishment was such, at seeing me look so thin and meagre, that at first he could hardly speak. But recollecting himself, after several questions asked on both sides, he went with me to the tent, where he was surprised to see such a number of us in a condition so deplorable: Our flesh was wasted, and our looks so ghastly, that we truly exhibited a very dismal appearance. In our progress thither the stranger, casting his eye on the remains of our comrade's flesh, exposed on the summit of the rock, expressed his satisfaction that we were not totally destitute; I acquiesced in his remark, but kept the truth to myself.

We made a fire with some difficulty. I determined myself to go on board with the man, and afterwards to send for the rest, one or two at a

time, and accordingly we both got into the canoe. But the sea immediately drove it with such violence against the rock, that we were upset into the water; and I being being very weak, it was a great while before I could recover myself. Thus I had again a very narrow escape from drowning.

The good man, with extraordinary labour, himself got on board without me, intending, if the weather permitted, to return next day with greater conveniences.

It was a painful sight to see our worthy friends in the shallop stand away for the shore without us; but God, who orders all our affairs, had doubtless designs for our preservation, in denying us that chance of present deliverance. For the wind coming about to south-east at night, and blowing hard with dark weather, our good friends lost their shallop, and, with extreme difficulty, saved their lives. Had we been with them, in all probability we must have perished, not having strength sufficient to help ourselves.

Immediately after their getting on shore, they sent an express to Portsmouth, in Piscataqua River, where the good people made no delay in hastening to our assistance, as soon as the weather would allow. Yet to our great sorrow, and for the further trial of our patience, next day continued stormy; therefore, though we doubted not that the people ashore knew our condition, and would aid us as soon as possible; still the flesh being nearly consumed, having no fresh water, and uncertain how long the weather might continue, our situation was rendered miserable. However, we derived much benefit from the fire, for we could now both warm ourselves, and broil our meat; it was made in the middle of the tent, and surround-

ed with stones, and the fuel consisted of ropes, cut in pieces. The people were at first extremely sick, and even fainted with the smoke, until an opening to allow its exit was made in the top of the tent.

Our men urging me vehemently for flesh the following day, I gave them a little more than usual; but not to their satisfaction, for they would certainly have ate the whole up at once, had I not carefully watched them, proposing to share the rest next morning, if the weather continued bad. In the night, while I lay as if asleep, I overheard two of the people, who had that night's watch, earnestly whispering each other, and soon after observed one of them creep out of the tent. Not long afterwards, he returned with a portion of the flesh, though it lay at a considerable distance, and though the man was obliged to creep on hands and knees over the uneven rock. While the two people were busily engaged in broiling their prize, I suddenly started up, and, seizing it, informed the whole crew. At first it was intended to inflict exemplary punishment upon them, but considering our present circumstances, they escaped with a severe reprimand. The flesh was now so much reduced, that the whole was allotted for the next repast.

It pleased God, however, that the wind that night abated; and early in the morning, whilst at our devotions, we heard the report of a musket, and looking out, saw a shallop come for us, with my much esteemed friends, Captain Long, and Captain Purves, or Forbes, and three more men. They brought a large canoe, and in two hours time got us all on board, to their satisfaction, and our great comfort. They were forced to carry almost all the

whole men on their backs, from the tent to the canoe, and take us off by two or three at a time.

When we first got on board the shallop, each ate a bit of bread and drank a dram of rum, and most of us were extremely sea-sick. But, after having cleansed our stomachs, and tasted warm nourishing food, we became so exceedingly hungry and ravenous, that, had not our worthy friends restrained us, and limited the quantity of our diet for two or three days, we should certainly have destroyed ourselves with over-eating.

Other two vessels also came off for our assistance, so generous and charitable were the good people of New England; but there was no necessity, and, seeing us all on board the shallop, they made the best of their way home again.

At eight in the evening we came on shore, where we were kindly entertained, myself and another having credit enough to help us at a private house, and the rest at the charge of the government, which took such care that the poor men knew not the least want of any thing their necessities required. Kind and generous gentlemen furnished them with all, providing a good surgeon and nurses until well, bearing the charge, and afterwards allowing each man sufficient clothing; behaving themselves, on the whole, with so much liberality, generosity, and Christian temper, that it was no small addition to their other services, and renders their conduct altogether worthy both of admiration and imitation: and they were of the utmost use to these poor men in their distresses. Here the care, attention, and liberality of my much honoured friends, John Plaisted, Esq. and Captain John Wentworth, in serving both myself and the unfortunate men, were particularly eminent.



Two days after coming on shore, my apprentice lost great part of one foot. All the rest saved their limbs, but did not recover the perfect use of them. Very few besides myself escaped without losing the use of fingers or toes, though, thank God, they were otherwise in perfect health.

Some sailed one way, and some another: my mate and two or three more are now in England at the publication of this narrative."

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The author of the preceding relation, Captain Dean, after surviving all the hardships he suffered from the shipwreck, was appointed British consul for the ports of Flanders. He resided at Ostend, and died in the year 1761.

## THE VOYAGE, SHIPWRECK,

AND ESCAPE OF RICHARD CASTLEMAN, 1710\*.

THE dangers at sea are certainly more imminent than those on shore. Even in the fairest weather, the space is very small between this world and the next. In my opinion, a Grecian philosopher was much in the right when he answered a friend, who asked him to go and hunt in a neighbouring island of the Hellespont, that should he be guilty of such folly, his only object would be returning safe for those trusting their lives to the sea ventured with a changeable mistress.

I embarked along with Mr Jones and his family in Captain Cox's ship, bound for Charleston, in Carolina, and arrived there without any great hazard, just when Captain Moor had made a descent on the Spaniards of St Augustine, a plantation southward of Carolina, whence he had returned with great booty. By some of the colony, his proceedings were censured as unjust, because the Spaniards had no notice of the rupture between England and Spain. But all stratagems are lawful in war. Some time afterwards, the Spaniards

\* This narrative has occurred only on one occasion, and is here employed nearly in the author's own words.

presenting this aggression, fitted out five men-of-war, and several transports, to avenge it. Eight hundred men were landed in the quay ; and they sent two trumpeters, summoning Sir Nathaniel Johnston, then governor of Charleston, to surrender. However, he answered, that as the place was entrusted to him by the queen, his mistress, he was resolved to defend it to the last. The messengers having communicated this determination to their admiral, with the addition of their own opinion, that the town was too well garrisoned to be easily taken, he thought better of it, recalled his men, and set sail.

Our attempt excited great alarm, and led to the fortification of Charleston; so that it may now defy all the attempts either of a foreign foe, or the native Indians, who used to infest the inhabitants daily. When I was there, it consisted of above 1000 houses, with a garden to almost each ; there was only an indifferent wooden church, but before my departure, subscriptions had commenced for a regular stone building. Plenty of everything necessary to the life of man is found here, and much trade is carried on ; and I have been informed, that traffic prevails 300 leagues up the country. The climate is healthy, though most Europeans on first arriving have the distemper of the country, which is owing to the change of air and diet. I had the good fortune to escape easily by the assistance of Madame Rhett, the only good surgeon of the place.

Here I remained eight months, and was well entertained by the courteous inhabitants ; and I must own, that pleasure, as well as profit, induced me to travel. Mr Jones, who was concerned with me in trade, being secretary and provost marshal

of the Summer Islands, was obliged to go thither, and I followed him a short time afterwards with his family. The only circumstance worthy of remark, was a large shark accompanying our vessel during several subsequent days, on which the master told me, that he was assured some one on board would die. I laughed at his superstition, and endeavoured to rally him out of it, yet he still persisted in the same opinion. When the shark first appeared, every person was in good health; but within three days a woman passenger expired of a fever. Her body was committed to the waves, and was probably entombed in the bowels of the shark, for it disappeared that day. The master told me, that he had made this remark during several years, and was never once deceived. It is not impossible that the shark may have the same instinct at sea that the vulture has by land.

On arriving at St George's, the capital of the Bermudas, I was as much gratified by the climate and inhabitants as I had been in Carolina. This town, which is well fortified, is situated at the bottom of a bay of the same name; it contains about 200 houses, and a better church than that of Charleston. I carried a present from Mr Holland, the incumbent, consisting of an antelope's foot, set in gold, for a tobacco stopper, which I was to have delivered to his patron, the Bishop of Bangor; but it was afterwards lost during my shipwreck.

Perpetual spring prevails in these islands, and the old leaves never drop before being dislodged by the new ones. The trees bear buds, blossoms, and fruit, at the same time: the air is clear and temperate, though the climate is sometimes subject to severe storms of thunder and lightning, and



I have been shown rocks said to be split by the violence of the latter. A gentleman who had surveyed these islands, informed me, that they are 378 in number, though about 300 deserve only the name of rocks; and on most of the others that are inhabited, there are not above a dozen of houses. People have supposed that the whole consisted of one island, which has been separated into so many parts by the encroachments of the sea.

Formerly the inhabitants gained much by their intercourse with pirates, and even some, who at the date of my residence had large plantations, were at first little better than such themselves. The late Queen (Anne) issued a commission to Mr Larkins, to try pirates wherever they could be found in her American dominions, and I happened to be at Bermuda when he arrived. On acquainting the people in power with his commission, he experienced but a very cold reception; nevertheless, proceeding in his design, he granted warrants to seize suspected persons. Mr Jones, who was obliged to execute the warrants, met with resistance everywhere, and was so ill used by some of the inhabitants as even to endanger his life. The governor, whose name was Bennet, should have assisted him and Mr Larkins; but whether he was afraid of offending the inhabitants, or did not make due inquiry into the facts, both these gentlemen were seized and cast into prison. Mr Jones first made his escape, and arrived safe in England, where he obtained all the redress he desired, and was ordered back to serve in his former office. Those who opposed him, I am informed, were reprimanded on his account by letters from England. But hatred once fixed in the minds of mankind is never to be eradicated;

their animosities rose as high as ever, and he was once more obliged to abandon the island. A law-suit now pends between the governor and Mr Jones, who are both in England.

Mr Larkins was confined in a dungeon, and, according to common report, denied food even sufficient to sustain life. He would certainly have expired of want, had he not, with the assistance of a true friend, made his escape in women's clothes. True friends are hard to be found any where, but more especially among men of power in America. He was so much reduced by imprisonment, and had contracted so many distempers by bad treatment, that he died during his voyage home.

As this island was formerly a great receptacle for pirates, the chief gain of the inhabitants was derived from trading with them.

Mr Jones, Captain Bayley, and myself, had jointly bought a vessel of about 140 tons, and had got in all our cargo but tobacco, which we were to load with in Virginia, and then make up to the fleet bound for England. While we were employed in fitting out the vessel, Mr Jones was engaged with his own affairs, whence the charge of his share was entrusted to me.

On the 5th of April 1710, we sailed with a fair gale, which continued until we lost sight of the islands. But in the night a contrary wind sprung up, and blowing very fresh at N. N. E. carried us to the southward of the Bermudas. By the greatest providence we escaped being staved on the rocks, which we got clear of with much difficulty, being obliged to ply three days to windward.

We found that our ship was unfortunately none

of the best sailers, yet in four days we reached our proper latitude, and the wind continuing pretty fair, advanced considerably on the voyage. Our only amusement was taking dolphins with the fizgig, which are, in my opinion, but indifferent food.

Including passengers, there were forty-one persons on board; and many of them being sick with the rolling of the ship, rendered our situation very uncomfortable, and I wished myself once more on shore.

On the 12th of April, the sight of a vessel, which we supposed a Spanish privateer, alarmed us; we crowded all sail to avoid her, which it would have been very hard to do if the wind had not immediately afterwards changed to S. S. E. blowing a very strong gale. We bore away, and before night lost sight of her.

While we sat at supper in the cabin, Captain Bayley's son came and told him that the colour of the water was changed, but he was reprimanded by his father, who said he had lost his senses, for it was impossible to be near any shore. When the sea changes its colour, it is an evident token that land is not far distant.

We continued the same course under a foresail. But our terror and surprise are not to be expressed, when, in the morning-watch, the captain, who discovered land from the deck, came down to my cabin, and, with tears in his eyes, desired me to rise. By his looks I knew that something extraordinary had happened, and got on deck to ascertain the truth, for Captain Bayley had not power to utter a word.

I soon found wherein our danger consisted, for we were in sight of Virginia, near *Ronokc* sand-

banks. He endeavoured to weather them, but our ship, having a round head, would not obey the helm; therefore we all agreed to stand in for land, hoping, as it was a bold shore, and the tide was flood, that we might, through the aid of Providence, land in safety. However, the tide proved to be falling, and we bulged on the *Ronoke* sandbanks; but, by lightening the ship, and cutting the masts by the board, we got clear of this danger. Keeping still in for the shore, we struck on a second bank, though not very violently. Therefore the anchors were let go, in hopes that we might be able to ride out the tide. But the wind increasing, the ship drove on another sand bank, where she stuck, and the waves dashed over us.

The cries of the women and children on board pierced my very heart. The boat being ordered out, to try if we could in that way gain the shore, I was one of the first who leaped into her; but, before we could leave the ship's side, she was staved in pieces. All that might be done in this exigence, was to get into the ship again; and, with much difficulty, while dragged in by main force, we accomplished it. Yet, had I not held fast by the coat of one person in the water along with me, and the foot of another, I must inevitably have perished, for I was under the keel. When I had got footing on deck, I brought my box out of the cabin, and intended to secure my money, which amounted to fifty pounds; but, while engaged in uncording the box, I was reproached, by the captain's sister for thinking of money when all their lives were in danger. I must own, that other thoughts would have been more suitable, to my condition, therefore I became ashamed of my



employment, and regarded nothing else than assisting to save ourselves. Endeavouring to get off the vessel proved a fruitless labour, whence we ceased any exertions for the cargo.

There were two blacks<sup>men</sup> on board belonging to Captain Bayley, who offered to carry a rope ashore, and make it fast to the stump of a tree: they were excellent divers, and the surge was so violent, that no one could stem the billows but by diving. Divine Providence had so ordered it, that there was no other thing like a tree within half a mile on each side of us. I told the captain it looked like a good omen, and, by the help of God, I did not doubt that we should get safe on shore.

The negroes succeeded, with much difficulty, in their intentions, and, by the help of the rope, came back to the ship. Captain Bayley, his wife, and mate, first ventured into the water on the awning of the ship, and reached the shore, though it broke as soon as they landed. But my ears are even at this moment pierced with the cries of his poor children in the ship, which were more terrible to me than the storm. I offered to assist them in getting on the rope, but they were in such terror that I could not prevail on them to venture.

Two of the sailors secured themselves on the rope just as I was going to do so, and, with their bustling, very nearly threw me into the sea. I offered to assist the captain's sister, but she was as timorous as the children, and encouraged herself with vain hopes, that the waves would leave them by degrees, and they might get on shore with less danger. Taking leave of all those on board, and recommending both them and myself to the care of Heaven, I went into the water, took fast hold of the rope, and with the assistance of one of the negroes, got some

distance from the ship ; but the waves beat back with such impetuosity, that I was many times in danger of losing my hold, and being carried into the main sea. This would certainly have happened had I not been assisted by the black, for, every time a great sea was about to break over us, he would cry out, " For the Lord's sake master hold fast ;" and whenever he called to me, I settled myself to receive the force of the waves, which would as often overwhelm me, and then I poured out my prayers to God for his assistance.

At last, with much struggling, I could sometimes feel my feet touch the ground, and, with the utmost difficulty, by degrees got footing ; when, every time the sea retired, I betook myself to running. While the waves rolled on the shore, I seized on the rope, otherwise I should have been dashed to pieces against the sand. But at last my strength began to fail, from the violent fatigue I had suffered ; and if the negro, whose strength also was almost gone, had not dragged me along the sands, I must, after this struggle for life, have resigned myself a prey to the waves.

As soon as I could recover my spirits, I returned thanks to the Divine Creator of all things, for my wonderful delivery from the jaws of death. My escape was still the more wonderful, for after I had left the rope, some other persons venturing the same way, it broke ; so that not one of them came on shore, but were all unhappily swallowed up by the waves.

Some time after I had been on shore, Captain Bayley, his wife, and the mate, came down to me, saying, they could find no road, nor any of the inhabitants. This news renewed our griefs, for we seemed to be in as great danger of starving now, as

of drowning before; and, to increase our dread, it was not above three hours until night, when we had to fear the wild bears.

While lamenting our condition, we heard somebody holla up in the woods, which revived our senses; but on running to see who it was, much to our disappointment, found it one of the sailors who had escaped, hallooing to his companion; and both were quite drunk with rum before they had left the ship. So brutal are some sailors, that even the greatest dangers will not deter them from drinking if opportunity admits.

When we were all together, that is, the captain, his wife, and mate, two white sailors, two negroes, and myself, we resolved to walk to the southward in quest of habitations. But, in less than an hour, our progress was interrupted by impenetrable woods, which forced us to return. We then went northward, where large swamps again opposed us; and there was not the smallest indication of any habitation. Thus environed as we were, we returned and perceived the poor wretches in the vessel, lifting up their hands to us for succour: though we could neither give them assistance nor comfort. I made signs, shewing that our condition was as bad as their own; and thus they had nothing to think of but heaven. As night approached some of the poor creatures ventured into the water, where they were soon drowned. In short, every object that we beheld increased our horror. None of us, independent of the fatigue we endured, had ate or drank for two days. Notwithstanding my own depression, I endeavoured to cheer my fellow-sufferers; and that we might be sheltered from the inclemency of the night, which, to heighten our distress, proved a rainy one, we, by



joint consent and labour, pulled down a considerable number of palmeto leaves: With these, and pieces of trees tore off, for we had not a knife amongst us, we built up a hut, and sheltered it from the weather as well as possible.

The palmeto leaf is very large, and the same of which platted straw is made, and forms the finest Bermuda and Carolina hats.

It was melancholy to reflect on our condition. Nothing to lie on but the bare wet ground; and our clothes dripping with rain and salt water. No food, nor the hopes of getting any; and I was even glad to drink my own urine. When I came seeking rest in our miserable tenement, the place was full; nevertheless, I laid myself down upon those within, and, by degrees, made room for myself. Notwithstanding their complaints, I held my tongue, and, in spite of all my wants and misfortunes, slept soundly until morning. But with the day reflection returned, sharpened with the most ravening hunger.

When we had all collected again, that is, seven of us, for one of the drunken sailors was found dead at some distance from our cabin, we addressed ourselves, by my advice, to the all seeing power for succour. The mate, however, told us, that praying alone would not do; therefore, while we *prayed*, he would go *seek*. After our extempore orisons were over, we rose up, resolving to go into the woods, in quest of something to allay our hunger.

Turning towards the beach, we saw the mate, along with a stranger, advancing to us. The dove returning with the olive branch could not be a more pleasing sight to Noah, than the stranger was now, and we ran with all the speed our feebleness



would admit to meet him. Under his arm he carried a small tub of butter, which the sea had cast up; and, though mixed with sand and gravel, it was as eagerly devoured by us as if it had been partridge or pheasant. Unfortunately, when we had tired ourselves with eating, for I cannot say we were satisfied, we all grew sick, and vomited.

To relieve us, the stranger gave us a couple of pines, which we greedily ate, and then fell to the butter again. The mate, to our agreeable surprise, informed us that a punchcon of water was thrown on shore; we eagerly hastened to it, and there my tobacco box served for a cup. We were prevented by the mate, who had already quenched his thirst, from drinking too much, lest our lives should be endangered; but this indifferent repast revived our fainting spirits, and better enabled us to bear the fatigue of the day.

The vessel, broke in many pieces, was drove close on shore; and it was a melancholy sight to see the dead bodies covering the sand. Captain Bayley and his wife almost went distracted to see the bodies of his sister, and one of their children, half buried in it. For my own part, I had only to grieve for the loss of my cargo, consisting of cotton, indigo, and straw ware, which, had it arrived safe in England, would have yielded L. 1500 to my own share. I more regretted the loss of my harpsichord and Italian timbrel, the remains of which I discovered on the shore; and the whole strand was covered with Bermuda hats. Some we picked up; and the mate, among other pieces of the wreck, discovered my box floating, which, by fortune, he dragged on shore. My money, linen, and books of accounts were contained in it.

We kept this recovery private from the stranger, and buried the box in a place which I marked by several objects. Our reason for not disclosing it, was owing to the stranger having informed us, that his usual custom was to visit the sand-banks after a violent storm, in expectation of shipwrecks. Thus we were uncertain whether he might not find means to destroy us, in hopes of why we had on shore, or leave us without assisting us to some plantation.

After doing all we could about the wreck, we took leave of the miserable sight, and set forward to the stranger's plantation, which was about ten miles distant. We were conducted through the woods, by certain marks on trees; and though they were unknown to us, the inhabitants could find each others habitations by them. In four hours, which I ascertained by having saved my watch from the shipwreck, we once more beheld the pleasing appearance of smoke from a chimney, indicating the dwelling of our guide. Our joy to enter a house, after our hardships, may be conceived, notwithstanding the indifference of the accommodation. No other provisions were to be got than a little hung beef and hominy, or ground Indian corn, mixed with milk, and dried before the fire; but this was feasting to us, for hunger gives the best relish. There were only two beds in the house, which the family complimented us with; the captain and his wife had one, Mr Burnam and I the other.

I deferred returning for my box until the second day after our arrival, from being much indisposed with the fatigue that I had undergone: besides, I had lost my hearing, by lying on the ground, nor did I completely recover it until my arrival in

England. The mate, two negroes, and myself, now set out, along with a person to guide us, to the place of our shipwreck; but our search proved so unsuccessful, that we were just about to abandon it, when the box was discovered by the mate. The negroes carried it by turns safe to the plantation.

I had a considerable quantity of linen, which I lent to my fellow-sufferers; but it was a strange sight to behold so many scare-crows, with tattered coats, and fine, ruffled shirts.

What our host found of the wreck satisfied him very well for our entertainment.

Here we staid five days to recruit ourselves, and then resolved to go up the river to wait on Colonel Carew, deputy-governor of Carolina, with whom I was acquainted. We hired a canoe with two sails, in which Captain Bayley, his wife, the mate, two blacks, the sailor, and another person from the plantation to assist us, embarked. Sailing up Ronoke Sound, with a fresh breeze, we reached Colonel Carew's plantation next morning, where we were courteously entertained. Having left him, we came to the governor's house the same evening, which is situate on the river Notaway, running into the Ronoke, about fifty leagues from the sea.

I sent up one of the men to acquaint the governor that I had come to wait on him; and he immediately came down to the shore, accompanied by Captain Cratback, a native of Bermuda Island, and one with whom I had been long acquainted. He had left Bermuda after our departure, and the governor and he, just as the messenger arrived, had been wishing that I might have escaped the storm. Whenever he saw me, he expressed his sorrow for our misfortune, exclaiming,



"I can easily perceive an ill wind drove you hither." He would not allow us to talk much, but hurried the whole party into his dining-room, where a supper and a bowl of punch stood prepared; and there were also present several gentlemen, his guests. He apologized to them, and said, that they should neither eat nor drink until we had satisfied ourselves. We soon cleared what was put before us, and then another supper was provided for the whole company, of which we also shared, notwithstanding our previous repast.

The governor having but few beds, Captain Bayley and his wife went to Mr Glover's, a neighbouring gentleman, who lived about half a mile from the governor; and the secretary insisted on my accompanying him home. There we found a quarter of a young hog and a turkey on the table. I sat down, and once more made a hearty supper, and I must own, I never thought that I should bring my stomach to its proper tone again. After drinking heartily we went to bed, and next morning breakfasted on broiled fowls and chocolate. My readers, if there be any, I hope will not ridicule my taking notice so often of eating, until they put themselves in my starved condition.

Next day, while dining with the secretary, a messenger arrived from the governor and Captain Bayley, informing me that a vessel was instantly departing for Kakatau harbour, where the Virginia fleet rendezvous and sail with the convoy for England, and that the captain, along with the rest of my unfortunate companions, waited on board for me. Notwithstanding my appetite, I hastened as quickly as possible to the place where the vessel lay, but most unluckily the wind proving fair, she was obliged to take advantage of it, and when I arrived

at the port, was almost out of sight. I was very much concerned at thus losing my passage, for probably there would be no similar opportunity if the fleet sailed, which would oblige me to wait until the following year.

Governor observing me so much concerned, sent a horse to carry me by land to Kakatan, about 120 leagues distant; and he also provided, an honest Quaker, who, for ten pieces of eight, agreed to accompany me, and bring the horse back.

We immediately departed, as I had no baggage to carry, that being all embarked with Captain Bayley. The way lay through unfrequented woods, and my guide followed it by marks on the trees. After travelling twenty miles, we arrived at a Quaker's plantation, and all that my guide said to him was, "Friend, I have brought along with me a shipwrecked gentleman, who is going to Kakatan, and desires a lodging to-night." To which the host answered, "Friend, come in, thou art welcome." Here I was well entertained, and my host proved a man of sound understanding. In the morning, when about to depart, I offered him indemnification for what I had received, but he was greatly offended at it, saying, "My house is no inn, and we see strangers so very seldom, that they are always welcome when they come, and God forbid that I should lessen the store of an unfortunate man like thyself." In short, I experienced the same treatment during the first six days of my journey. Hospitality is commendable in all countries, and England was once famous for it, but it seems at present banished to America.

In the course of the third day, my horse tumbled with me into a deep swamp, and I was not

only in danger of drowning, but of having my brains dashed out by his hoofs in his floundering. I continued so long in this hazard, that I gave myself up for lost. My horse at length, with much struggling, recovered, and luckily I having got hold of the stirrup, was drawn up along with him to the great joy of my guide, who thought me killed.

Our journey for the first four days was through vast woods, without seeing a human creature, except at the plantations; and our stages were sometimes twenty-seven miles asunder. I saw monstrous snakes of different kinds, but none attempted to come near us until the fifth day, when my horse gave a start, and I saw a rattle-snake spring at my guide, who at that time happened to be behind me; and it was well for me that he was so, for had I been in his place, it would certainly have cost me my life, from not knowing how to escape. The manner in which these animals make their spring, is folding themselves up in rings, applying the tail to the ground, and darting on their prey. But, as they are some time in doing so, a person who knows their nature, may avoid them.

The sixth night I reached a house belonging to my guide's father, who had a handsome plantation, one day's journey from Kakatan. Having intelligence that the fleet would not sail for some time, I staid four days with him. When paying his son the money I had agreed for, and sending him back to the governor, he testified great displeasure, declaring, that he would disown him for his son, if he took one penny. However, I contrived to make him some present, which he would hardly receive.

At Kakatan, whither the friendly Quaker and



His children assisted me to row a boat, as I could get no person to help me, I found Captain Bayley's ship, and again got my property. After making a present to Mr. Hatchiff, the quaker, for he would accept of no hire for the boat, I got a passage to Philadelphia. But there being only one cabin which was occupied by a woman passenger, I was obliged to wrap myself up in the sail. The spray of the sea beating over us every now and then, I had but a wet lodging. On the second evening, we reached Newcastle, in Delaware River, and the day following arrived at Chester. There we were hospitably entertained by a gentleman of the place, who would accompany us to Philadelphia, where we landed the following evening.

I remained nearly four months at Philadelphia, and in the heat of the day would sometimes walk to Fair Mount, a pleasant place shaded with trees on the river Schuylkill. While returning home one day, in deep discourse with others, and stepping over a stile, I saw a snake stretched on the ground before me, asleep as I suppose. I had not power to draw my leg back again, but my foot fell just on the head and part of the neck of the reptile, more by the particular direction of Providence than my design. It sprung up so quick, and twisted round my right leg and body with such force, that I was in dread of being strangled. However, I kept my foot fast fixed on its head, and in a little time it fell down dead. It is almost impossible for words to describe what I felt at this accident; the very touch of the animal about my leg and body had almost taken away my breath; and, by the greatest fortune in the world, I did not remove my foot from the head of the snake. Had

I done so, it certainly would have bit me. A considerable time elapsed before I could shake off my apprehension, and the whole day after I was downright sick with the fright. Some of my companions having the curiosity to measure the snake, it proved two yards nine inches in length and ten inches in circumference. I remember very well, that ever after this incident, I took care to look before me while crossing a stile, whether in Pennsylvania or in Old England; so lasting as the impression of fear and danger on the minds of men.

Having experienced every civility at Philadelphia, which is a place whither I should retire were I obliged to leave my own country, I embarked with four companions for Kakatan. On the way we had to cross an isthmus of eight miles, separating Delaware River and Chesapeak Bay, which saved us three days sailing, and in the course of it dined at a pleasant plantation, about half the journey over, but could scarcely prevail on two young women there to come near us, from believing that we belonged to privateers. At last they did so, and then they called their father, who treated us with great kindness. One of the girls observing a watch in my hand desired to look at it. But I was amused to see her apprehension when touched by her. From its going, and the noise it made, she would not be convinced that it was not alive. I asked her whether she had never seen or heard of a watch before. She told me that she had never seen one, but her sister had read of them. This I mention only to shew the simplicity and innocence of those American inhabitants, who live retired in the country, for the girls said that neither had ever been four miles from their own house.

At Kakatan, we embarked in the Globe, a new

vessel, of nearly 500 tons, and mounting 24 guns, and sailed on the 4th of September. It was a fine sight, to behold more than 200 merchantmen all together, besides a convoy of four men-of-war. A fair wind continued until the 28th of September, when the sky threatened a storm. It began to blow, and the gale gradually increasing, we could at last carry only a reefed foresail; and it was well that we had a good stout ship, otherwise we should have perished. The fleet was now dispersed, and several ships, with their whole crew, sunk before our eyes, without it being in the power of the others to save them.

I now began to dread that I should be buried in the deep, though the captain always encouraged us with the goodness and strength of the ship, for she was well rigged and fitted, as it was her first voyage. All night we were terribly tossed, not one of the fleet was visible when morning dawned, so we were obliged to sail alone, which occasioned me many melancholy reflections. However, the storm had abated, and, to my great joy, we discovered forty of our scattered fleet, and one man-of-war. When within hail, we received the dismal intelligence, that above thirty vessels had foundered; some of the men were saved, as also part of the cargo of seven or eight, but the rest went to the bottom.

One reason of the weakness of the ships, arose from their being unsheathed; and having remained four months beyond their usual time, worms had injured the hull.

The wind again proved fair until we made the coast of France, where we were unfortunately dispersed in the night, and exposed to the greater danger, from being so near an enemy's country.



Next day, a French privateer appeared standing towards us. We were three ships in company, and notwithstanding we were in a very poor condition for an engagement, we resolved to give battle. Getting all our men and passengers on deck, and crowding all sail, we took advantage of the weather-gage to bear down upon the privateer in our turn. This stratagem had the desired effect, for she hastened to escape.

We discovered the chalky cliffs of England on the 3d of November, and on the 7th got safe into Deal harbour. We travelled to Gravesend, and then took the passage-boat to London; but in the course of the passage we were very nearly run down by a ship outward bound, and put in the utmost danger. This reminded us of the uncertainty of human life, and that a man may meet with death when he supposes himself past all hazard.

I landed at London, 15th November 1710, giving God thanks for his signal mercies. I hope I am settled there for the remnant of my life, without trusting myself any more to the dangers of the tempestuous sea.

## WRECK OF A GENOESE TARTAN

ON THE COAST OF ALGIERS, 1719.



SHIPWRECK, though in itself a calamity which few can figure without experience, is grievously aggravated by subsequent slavery, and more especially if to uncultivated tribes. Yet it is not these alone that merit reprobation. Unfortunately for the interests of mankind, some of the states, which we denominate the most civilized, even at this day, seem to vie with each other in the infliction of needless severities on those unfortunate captives that fall into their power. As if by universal concurrence, the Christian nations on the shores of the Mediterranean debase themselves in this respect to an equality with ignorant infidels, who were never taught better; and the bravest defender of his country, if unsuccessful in war, may be led into slavery, which, in general, terminates only with his existence. But mere captivity is the least of his evils: The difference of his religion is viewed with abhorrence: it inspires a kind of rancour which the liberal cannot conceive; and he is thence doomed to punishment. The resentment of his countrymen naturally ensues, and thence are mutual cruelties exercised in retaliation.

Some humane individuals, actuated by the desire of alleviating the sufferings of slavery, have

adopted various expedients for relief. In London, so long ago as the year 1724, a Turkey merchant devised a large sum of money to be perpetually employed in the redemption of British captives from Moorish slavery; and, not far from the beginning of the seventeenth century, a fund was established in France for the redemption of Christians held in captivity at Algiers. Several monks and priests of that country were charged with carrying this benevolent object into effect, to three of whom we are indebted for preserving the following narrative.

M. Dusault, a French envoy extraordinary, was sent on a mission to the coast of Barbary, in the year 1719, for the purpose of renewing commercial treaties between his own country and the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and also to settle any subsisting differences. Accompanied by the three religious above alluded to, Fathers Bernard, Comelin, and Philemon de la Motte, he embarked at Marseilles on the 23d of September, and arrived at Algiers on the first of November, after a tempestuous passage. Next morning he and his suite landed, carrying with them thirty Turkish slaves, sent as a present to the dey of Algiers by the king of France.

Negotiations for the redemption of captives immediately commenced, and were prosecuted with so much zeal and activity, that, in three weeks, the two fathers, Bernard and Comelin, had purchased thirty-one. On the 24th of November, the envoy received intelligence respecting some captives who had been conducted into the interior, which excited great interest, and led to the adoption of more extraordinary exertions for their release.



While the Count de Bourk, a nobleman of Irish extraction, was ambassador from the court of France to Madrid, the countess, his spouse, became desirous to visit him. She therefore obtained a pass for herself and her whole family, except a son about three or four years old, who was left with her mother, the Marchioness de Varenne. On the way to Avignon, she was joined by the Marquis de Varenne, her brother, a naval officer, who accompanied her to Montpellier. There she was dissuaded from proceeding farther by land, although the Marshal Duke de Berwick had offered his protection to pass through the French and Spanish armies to the Spanish frontier, and the marquis, his son, also offered to conduct her thence to Gironne, where he commanded the troops of his Christian majesty. The dread of passing through the armies made the countess more readily admit, that, without being exposed to so many dangers and so much expence, the shortest and easiest method was embarking at Cette, from which port she might, in twenty-four hours, reach Barcelona. She adopted this resolution with less reluctance, as she previously had been several times at sea. Having got her pass changed, she went to Cette, where there were different French vessels on the eve of departure, but none bound for Spain. Thus she was under the necessity of hiring a Genoese tartan just ready to sail for Barcelona.

She embarked at Cette, along with her son, eight years old; her daughter, nine years and ten months; the Abbé de Bourk, her husband's brother; a governess, steward, and other attendants, to the number of eleven persons in all. Among her baggage was a rich service of plate, also a picture of the king, set with diamonds, in a massy

gold frame, and various appurtenances of a chapel.

The vessel sailed on the 22d of October, and, on the 25th, when in sight of the coast of Palamos, a small Algerine privateer was seen at about two leagues distance. A boat, with twenty armed men, came off to take possession of the tartan, they fired seven or eight muskets, but without any damage ensuing, because the crew had either fallen flat on the deck, or concealed themselves elsewhere in the ship. The Algerines then boarded the tartan sword in hand, and one of the countess's domestics received two wounds. They advanced to the stern-cabin, where she was, and posted four of their people there as a guard; and then steered this vessel towards their own. In the way they plundered every thing that they could lay their hands on, and, in the mean time, ate and drank immoderately of the wine and provisions.

Having reached the privateer, all the crew were carried on board, and put in irons, and the Algerine captain came into the tartan. He entered Madame de Bourk's cabin, and questioned her, "Who she was, to what nation did she belong, and whither she was going?" to which she replied, that "She was a native of France, come from that country, and bound for Spain." He next demanded to see her passport, which she shewed him, but without quitting hold of it, apprehensive that it might be destroyed by such barbarians. But, on the assurance of the captain that it should be returned, she parted with it. After learning its contents, by means of his interpreter, he restored it, saying, "It was good, and that she had nothing to dread for herself, her effects, or retinue."

Madame de Bourk then represented to the Algerine, that, as she was free, both by her birth and her passport, he ought to convey her in his boat to the coast of Spain, then in their vicinity ; that he owed this much to the passport of France ; and farther, that, by doing it, he would save her from great fatigue, and her husband from cruel anxiety ; adding also, that, if he did her this service, she would not fail to make him a suitable acknowledgment, when opportunity offered.

The captain answered, " that he, being a renegado, could not, by any means, do so, for it was as much as his head was worth. The dey of Algiers would immediately conceive, that, under pretext of a French passport, he had sold the family of some hostile country their liberty, and landed them in Christendom. Thence it was indispensable that she should accompany him to Algiers, where she could present herself and her passport to the dey. When this was done, she would be given up to the French consul, who would procure her a passage to Spain, after whatever manner was judged most expedient. Now it was in her own option either to remove into the privateer, or remain in the tartan, where she would enjoy more quiet and liberty than in his ship, in which there were between two and three hundred Turks and Moors ; and it was not safe to trust herself, or the young females in her suite, among them."

Madame de Bourk preferred remaining on board the tartan, and the captain, after carrying off the boat, three anchors, and all the provisions, excepting those belonging to the countess, manned it with seven Turks. The tartan was taken in tow, and in this manner conducted towards Algiers.

The countess had presented the captain with her own watch, and she also gave another, along with four louis-d'or to the Turk left in command of the tartan.

A furious tempest prevailed on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of the month, in which the cable towing the tartan parted. The mariners were ignorant of the art of navigation, and, in the confusion which took place on boarding, the compass had been broke; thus the vessel was abandoned to the guidance of the winds and the waves. She was drove towards the coast of Barbary, where, on the 1st of November, she cast anchor in the Gulf of Col, east of Jijel; and the captain ordered two of the crew to swim ashore, as he was ignorant of the country.

The neighbouring mountaineers assembled on the beach to repel what they conceived a hostile invasion, either for the purpose of carrying themselves into captivity, or for stealing off their cattle. But the seamen soon undeceived them, saying, the vessel was a prize taken from the Christians, containing a great French princess, whom they were conducting to Algiers. One of the men swam off to acquaint the commander of the tartan with the result of his mission, with respect to the name of the coast, and its distance from Algiers, near which he must have passed, considering the direction of the wind. The commander, impatient to depart, cut his cable, without taking time to weigh the anchor, and sailed away, wanting anchor, cable, or compass. Scarce had he got half a league without the bay, when he was assailed by a contrary wind, which drove him back on the coast. There he had recourse to oars, but the weakness of his crew rendered all exertions ineffectual;—the ves-



sel was wrecked on a rock. \* The whole stern immediately sunk under water, and the Countess de Bourk, her son, and three female attendants, being in the cabin, were drowned. Those at the head of the ship, among whom were the Abbé de Bourk, Mr Arthur, and the steward, a maid servant, and the valet, clung to that part of the wreck on the rock. Mr Arthur, observing something struggling in the water, went down, and found it to be Mademoiselle de Bourk, the countess's daughter, whom he extricated, and put into the steward's hands, recommending her to his care, and adding, that he was going to throw himself into the sea. Though he was the only one of the company that could swim, it would have been better that he had not confided in his skill, for, from that moment, he never more was seen.

The Abbé first left the wreck to get on the rock where the ship had struck; there, forcing his knife into a crevice, he held by it, resisting the violence of the waves during some time. At length they dashed him from his hold, and cast him on a shoal, from which he had to cross a narrow arm of the sea before reaching the shore. He caught at a plank, but it was driven from his hands; when, using one of the vessel's oars, he succeeded in getting on shore.

The Moors collected there, tore off all his clothes, and used him with great barbarity. Numbers of them made their way towards the wreck, in hopes of a rich booty. The steward, who had Mademoiselle de Bourk in his arms, made signs to the Moors to advance, and, when they were within four paces, he threw her to them. They caught her, and, holding her by an arm and a leg, brought her ashore, where they took a shoe and a stocking from



her in token of servitude. The maid and the valet also leapt into the sea, and were taken up by the Moors, who carried them ashore, and left them there naked. The steward was the last who forsook the wreck. By means of a rope he climbed from rock to rock, but, before he got to land, he was met by a Moor, who stripped him almost naked.

In this pitiable condition the captives were conducted towards cottages on the nearest mountain, through rugged paths, and urged forward with blows. Their feet were torn with the roughness of the way; the maid was chiefly to be lamented, for, in coming over the rocks, she suffered several wounds, and was now almost covered with blood. Each, likewise, was loaded with a burden of wet things, and also alternately carried the young lady. Arriving half-dead at the cottages, they were received with loud shouts and outcries of the inhabitants and their children; and the uproar was augmented by the noise of their numerous dogs, one of which bit the servant's leg in several places, and another tore a piece out of the unfortunate maid's thigh.

The captives were there divided; and, in the partition, the servant and the maid fell to the lot of one master: but it was the will of Providence that Mademoiselle de Bourk, her uncle, and the steward, should remain together under another. This master immediately provided them with a wretched garment, swarming with vermin; and a scanty portion of very coarse bread, kneaded into cakes, and baked on the embers, which, with water for their beverage, was all their refreshment after undergoing so many fatigues. The steward, observing how much his young mistress suffered

from her wet clothes, obtained a little fire; though with great difficulty, and there he wrung and warmed them, and then put them on again half dried, as she was unable to sit naked longer. In this condition she passed the first night in great dread.

The hamlet where they now were contained about fifty inhabitants, distributed in five or six huts built of canes and branches, where the men, women, and children, lodged promiscuously, along with their cattle of all different descriptions. They assembled in the one containing the captives, to deliberate concerning their destiny. Some then urged that they ought to put them to death, in order, by that sacrifice of Christians, to assure themselves of the paradise of Mahomet; but others, swayed by motives of worldly interest, maintained a different opinion, in hopes of obtaining a large ransom. From this variance of sentiment, the assembly dispersed without coming to any definite conclusion.

Next day, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood being sent for, they assembled in far greater numbers, using many menaces towards the captives. Some pointed to the fire, and threatened to burn them alive; others, unsheathing their sabres, feigned a blow to strike off their heads, and one of them, taking the child by the hair, put the edge of his sabre to her neck; while several, in their sight, charged their muskets with ball, and then took an aim at them. The steward contrived, by means of signs, to make the Moors understand, "that they should consider it a happiness to die for their religion, and, if they did suffer, the whole injury would fall on themselves in being deprived of the ransom which might be expected on their deliverance."

On this, even the most violent became somewhat milder; but the insults of the women and children were redoubled every moment. The captives were so strictly guarded, that an armed Moor never left them, lest, from some accident, their prey might escape, or be taken away; and, in fact, a few days afterwards, the bey of Constantina demanded the captives, otherwise he should visit them with his camp; to which the Moors answered, “that they feared neither him nor his camp, though all the Turks of Algiers were in it.”

Although these mountaineers are naturally the subjects of Algiers, they refuse to acknowledge its superiority. They live in a state of independence, under the denomination of Cabayls, or, The Revolted; and the mountains of Cuoco serve them as an inaccessible rampart against the whole power of the Algerines.

The unhappy captives were in a deplorable condition, exhausted with fatigue, deprived of repose, pressed with want, and destitute of human assistance; and, added to all, amidst barbarians, who bore them such enmity, that they could never speak without fire flashing from their eyes, until the white so conspicuous in Moors and Negroes ceased to be visible. Neither were the trials which the maid and the other domestic had to undergo less severe. Though living in the same hamlet, they were debarred the comfort of once seeing or hearing tidings of their young mistress.

The Moors being expert divers, soon fished up the packages that were in the tartan, and also the drowned bodies. In this occupation they employed the steward and the valet; and, having drawn the bodies ashore, stripped them quite naked. Disdaining to profane their knives on Christians, they

beat Madam de Bourk's fingers off with stones, in order to obtain her rings. What a cruel spectacle to behold the bodies of those who had been so dearly beloved, exposed to the insults of the Moors, who amused themselves in throwing stones at them, and testifying their delight in the sound occasioned from the bodies being swoln with water ! The steward endeavoured to represent that they were violating every principle of humanity, and that they ought certainly to permit them to be interred. All the answer he received was, " We never bury dogs." A Moor who had loaded the servant with a bale, wished to force him to pass close by the bodies, that being the nearest way ; but he chose rather to climb over a craggy rock.

The steward returned to the village in great agitation. He would not impart his concern to Mademoiselle de Bourk, however, and carefully concealed the mortifying spectacle he had beheld.

Meantime the Moors divided their prizes. The richest stuffs were cut into small pieces to ornament the heads of their children ; all the plate was offered for sale, and three chalices, one of which was worth at least four hundred livres, were all sold for less than five livres, because the owners thought them copper, and of small value from being tarnished with the sea-water. They found some books, which they considered useless, and thence let the steward and servant have them without much difficulty. The steward also secured his inkhorn..

The captives continued three weeks in the same place, during which time Mademoiselle de Bourk, taking advantage of the writing materials, and a few leaves of blank paper tore from the books, wrote three letters to the French consul at Algiers,



none of which ever came to hand. The whole of the party were then conducted among the high mountains of Cuoco, where the ruler of these people probably resided. They were led along by twelve Moors, armed with sabres, guns, and lances, who constrained the steward and the domestic to carry their young mistress by turns over the rugged tracts; and, as they were themselves accustomed to traverse the same regions with greater expedition, they urged their victims with blows to advance faster than they were able. In this manner they travelled a whole day, and, at its close, each received a piece of bread, and enjoyed the comfort of lying on boards for the first time.

The sheikh, or ruler, held a grand council with the chiefs of the mountaineers respecting the disposal of the captives; but, disagreeing on the terms of division, it was resolved that they should be returned from whence they came. Before departing, the steward having taken a little straw from before some cattle in the vicinity feeding on it, to spread under Mademoiselle de Bourk, the owner of the cottage snatched up a hatchet in a fury, and forcing him to lay his neck on a block, would have committed murder on the spot, had not a Moor come in at the instant and prevented him. Three or four times every day did those barbarians, according to their capricious humour, after fastening the door of the cottages to prevent interruption, seize the unfortunate prisoners by the throat, and would have butchered them, had they not been restrained by some invisible power.

Nowwithstanding the determination of sending them away, the captives were still kept in the interior, whence their first owner, accompanied by a Turk from Bujeya, came to carry them off. Six,

teen armed mountaineers, however, compelled him to abandon them; therefore, enraged at being forced to resign his prey, he seized on Mademoiselle de Bourk, and drew his sabre to strike off her head; but the Turk, by remonstrances, induced him to desist. During the course of their return, their conductors, transported by zeal, frequently resolved on sacrificing them. Once, in particular, they led the Abbé and steward behind a thick bush, there to offer them as victims to Mahomet, though their intentions were not then put in execution. On arriving at the hamlet, they received nothing but the raw tops of parsnips to eat, without a morsel of bread, which was frequently the case in future. The children, however, gradually contracted an affection for Mademoiselle de Bourk, whence she sometimes procured a little milk along with her bread, which was scantily provided. It is the custom of the Moors to grant what is asked in name of their children; therefore, a common mode of preferring a suit, is to say, "grant me this for thy son's sake."

At length a fourth letter, wrote by Mademoiselle de Bourk, reached the French consul at Algiers. It was the only one of all she had written that arrived at the place of its destination; and was transmitted by the dey to M. Dusault, who read it to the fathers employed in the redemption of captives. She there described, in plain, but pathetic terms, how, by the shipwreck of her mother, she and her attendants had been reduced to the most frightful bondage; that they were perishing with hunger, and underwent all the severities that could be expected from enemies to the Christian faith and to all humanity; and besides,

were devoured by vermin. Therefore, she most earnestly besought him to send them some relief in the meantime, until he should be able to procure their liberty; of which they were led to despair, from the continual menaces of the barbarians they were amongst.

The fathers were sensibly affected by this letter: they tendered their money and services to M. Dusault, who needed no entreaties on the occasion, as he was well acquainted with the family of M. de Bourk. He immediately ordered a French vessel then in port, to sail with clothes and provisions; and obtained a commendatory letter from the dey to the great marabout, or chief priest of Bujeya. He likewise wrote to Mademoiselle de Bourke, and accompanied his letter with some presents. The vessel sailed the same evening, and, after a short passage, arrived at Bujeya.

There the interpreter of the French, who had been sent by M. Dusault, presented his letter, and also the dey's, to the great marabout. Though somewhat indisposed at the time, he immediately got up and mounted, together with the interpreter, the marabout of Jijel, and six or seven Moors, and took the road towards the mountains, which are five or six days journey from Bujeya. Those inhabitants in possession of the captives, observing their approach towards their hamlet, shut themselves up in the cottages, along with them, to the number of ten or twelve, with sabres in their hands. The marabout knocking at the door, demanded aloud what had become of the Christians? to which it was answered, that they were at the further end of the hamlet. But a Moor on the outside signified, by signs, that they were within.

Therefore, the whole troop alighting, forced the cottage to be opened, on which the Moors ran away, and the marabouts entered. The captives were in great alarm, truly believing that the hour of destruction was come ; but they were speedily quieted by the great marabout approaching, and putting the letters from the consul and M. Dusault in Mademoiselle de Bourk's hands, and then he supplied her with part of his own provisions, consisting of bread and walnuts. That night he and his retinue passed in the hut, and next morning sent the Moorish children to seek their parents. All came at his order, and, according to their custom, kissed his hands. The Moors hold their marabouts in profound veneration ; it is in their name, and not in that of God, that the poor beg for charity. Their power has more influence than that of any neighbouring rulers, and their curses are more formidable than all the threats of Algiers.

The great marabout next sent for the sheikh of the mountains, and the chief owners of the hamlet, and declared the cause of his coming, namely, to demand the release of five French captives, who were shipwrecked. That as France was at peace with the whole kingdom of Algiers, they ought not, contrary to the treaty, to retain the captives, whose misfortunes in losing their friends and property were already great enough, without privation of life and liberty also. That although they did not themselves acknowledge the authority of Algiers, yet they enjoyed advantages from the peace with France ; and, finally, urged that it would be an act of signal injustice refusing their release, as they were sufficiently enriched by their spoils.

The Moors endeavoured to shelter themselves



under pretended reasonings; and the first joy of the captives was moderated by the apprehension of danger. After an interval of disquiet, their alarm became excessive, on learning from the interpreter, that the Moors, moved by the authority and arguments of the marabout, had consented to liberate four of their number; but the sheikh was resolutely determined to detain Mademoiselle de Bourk, whom he designed for a wife to his son, then fourteen years old, and in no wise unworthy of her, had she even been daughter to the king of France: for his son, being the offspring of a king of the mountains, was not her inferior.

This unexpected incident was considered a greater calamity than all the rest. Captivity itself appeared less cruel than the necessity of leaving one so young and so well beloved, in such hands, destitute of protection.

The sheikh for some time remained inflexible; but the marabout at length taking him aside, put some gold in his hands, and promised him a gratification infinitely greater; which rendered him somewhat more tractable. The whole negotiation was completed, and the terms of redemption settled at nine hundred pieces of eight: in pledge of which the marabout left a Turk behind him, along with some jewels belonging to his own wives.

He then departed, taking the five captives with him, and travelled towards Bujeya. On the way they lodged in the habitations of the Moors, wherever they could be found. To mark the hostility of those people towards Christians, on one occasion when an old woman was preparing a mess for the marabout, she angrily exclaimed, that "the Moors were fools for not sacrificing the captives to their

prophet, as by that means they would have insured the certainty of Paradise ; and had such an incident occurred in the place she belonged to, and Christians been left in her custody, they should not have escaped with their lives, for, had her husband refused to kill them, she would herself have put them to death.”

The captives having arrived at Bujeya on the 9th of December, were supplied with linen : the clothes that were sent to them had been given away in presents, in order to facilitate their release. On the 10th they embarked in the vessel lying for them, and reached Algiers on the 13th at day-break. The consul, attended by the principal French people, went down to the port to conduct them up to M. Dusault's residence, which was crowded with Christians, Turks, and even Jews. The envoy received Mademoiselle de Bourk as she entered the court, and instantly led her to the chapel, where she heard mass ; and a Te Deum was sung as a thanksgiving for this felicitous redemption.

The spectators could hardly refrain from tears ; nay, the very Turks and Jews seemed affected. This young female, even at her years, still showed an air of superiority, notwithstanding all the alarms and severities she had undergone.

After the redeemed Christians were somewhat refreshed, the fathers quickly prepared to satisfy the engagements made to procure their liberty. They gladly counted out nine hundred dollars from their treasure, to which M. Dusault added some presents for the great marabout, and intrusted the whole to the charge of a Moor who had come on part of the marabout, and now only waited a favourable opportunity for returning to Bujeya.

On the 5th of January 1720, M. Dusault sailed with Mademoiselle de Bourk from Algiers, but, meeting with adverse winds, was tossed about until the 12th, when he discovered the island of Majorca, and on the 16th anchored in Port Farine, in the kingdom of Tunis. M. Dusault landed, and on the 24th reached Tunis by land; which is about 45 miles distant. A negociation for the redemption of French captives was there also, speedily commenced; but the bey, conceiving that this was the sole purpose of M. Dusault's mission from the king, demanded an unreasonable price, being two hundred dollars for each slave, exclusive of port dues and other charges, which amounted to at least forty more. Neither were his demands abated, though it was explained that the negociation belonged solely to a charitable object. This contest lasted several days; and only on the fathers feigning preparations to leave the city, would he hearken to reason. New accommodations were proposed, by which the French were enabled to redeem the whole slaves, being sixty in number, including two Sardinian families, then despairing ever to regain their liberty. M. Dusault freighted a vessel to carry the whole to France, where they arrived in safety on the 29th of May 1720, at Marseilles, and delivered Mademoiselle de Bourk into the hands of her uncle, the Marquis de Varrenne. After remaining some years in the bosom of her family, she married the Marquis de T——, with whom she spent a happy life, and died only a few years preceding 1789. Her children then held a distinguished rank in Provence.

In the course of the preceding mission, the French religious redeemed no less than ninety-

eight captives at Algiers, independent of the sixty ransomed at Tunis.

The occurrence of calamitous shipwrecks is an object of equal interest to the barbarous natives of Africa, as preservation from perils and a successful voyage are to the mariner. Constant watch is kept for the moment of his destruction, or the time when struggling with the elements for existence, he may be safely approached and overpowered.

Shipwreck is probably more common on the western coast of Africa than towards the north, where, as has just been related, the Genoese tartan was lost; but there is little difference in the condition of those captives who fall into the hands of inhospitable tribes. They are viewed either as beasts of burden, whose labour may benefit the captor, or as fit subjects for being ransomed, whereby he may be enriched.

Many vessels are wrecked, and never heard of more; but, between the years 1790 and 1806, the crews of thirty made their way to Morocco, where an account of their disasters was first disclosed. All such persons, however, are in a state of captivity; they are bought and sold according to the caprice of their captors, or the inclination of purchasers, and reduced to a state of abject slavery.

Vessels on the western coast of Africa are generally wrecked to the south of Mogadore, on a desert shore, covered by immense sand hills, which are continually shifting their place. The coast is extremely flat; and a ship is either drifted by currents, or takes the ground, miles from the shore, before any danger is apprehended.

The wandering Arabs meantime are not idle:—from the tops of the sand hills they descry the masts



of the vessel, and immediately assembling in numbers, prepare to avail themselves of the calamity. Provided with arms, they repair to the shore, where they well know the crew must either perish, or become their captives. As the latter generally ensues, a partition of the spoil ensues on plundering the wreck and dividing the men: Or, should the unfortunate mariners, dreading the barbarous treatment they may expect, resolve to defend themselves and their property, the speedy reduction of their number soon warns them that they have no alternative but to surrender. Each then becomes a slave of different value, according to his pristine rank or capacity. He is marched into a desert, where, unused to the fatigue and abstinence with which the Arabs are familiar, he is reduced to the most deplorable extremity from pain and hunger. His limbs swell owing to the heat of the burning sand, as they are stripped instantly on capture; his body become sickly and emaciated, and sometimes he sinks under accumulated hardships.

Many are probably condemned to linger out their lives in captivity, and no tidings of them ever transpire; some indulging hopes of liberty after long negotiations, are at length disappointed, but several do accomplish their emancipation by circuitous operations.

Jews traffic with various Arabian tribes, and frequently purchase the shipwrecked persons from them. Through means of the new master, intelligence is communicated by the captive to the consul of his respective nation, resident at any of the ports or cities of Barbary, and a negotiation for his ransom commonly ensues. The agent for the trafficking Jew is one of his own religion, whose demands increase in proportion as an inclination

is testified to relieve the sufferer ; nay, it is not rare that the latter is put in irons, or confined in a dungeon, in order to enforce more speedy compliance.

Every exertion is, in the mean time, made by the Jew to discover the condition of the captive, that the sum which can be extorted for him may be ascertained, and so tedious are the proceedings, that the captives, if in possession of the Arabs, may sometimes change their masters. An instance occurred not long ago, where an American gentleman had fallen into the hands of an Arab chief or sheik, and 500 dollars were agreed on for his ransom. But the treaty for redemption was protracted, until he had been purchased by a Jew, from whom, after a year of miserable captivity, he was purchased for 1400.

The Jew had certain reasons for not considering it prudent to come himself to Mogadore to receive the fruits of his extortion, and it was so arranged, that the stipulated sum was to be sent to him elsewhere. His brother, however, on two youths belonging to the same vessel as the gentleman having escaped, came to Mogadore to claim their ransom. The youths were immediately taken under protection of the American agent there, while the Jew continued clamorous in his demands. But the affair having reached the knowledge of his imperial majesty, he was committed to prison, where he was confined for some time. The same Arab chief, into whose hands the American gentleman had fallen, interposed with the emperor, claiming the Jew as a subject of his territory. Therefore the governor was ordered to conduct him to one of the gates ; but, on reaching it, his head was immediately struck off, and, according to the custom



of the Moors, placed upon his breast, where it remained until next evening at sunset.

Though European merchants settled in Barbary, could occasionally be of use to their captive countrymen, they have little inducement, except humanity to interfere, as their own loss may ensue. An instance of recent date is quoted, where a merchant advanced the price of a British seaman, in expectation of immediate indemnification by the vice-consul of his own country. The captive, unless for his interference, would have been compelled to go to another part of Africa, from whence there was little prospect of his subsequent redemption. But the vice-consul neither had the necessary sum, nor any instructions on the subject, there having been some previous communications with the consul-general concerning the fellow-sufferers of the individual. Applications to government, strange to tell, were unsuccessful; and after two years had elapsed, the merchant thus humanely interposing, was reimbursed, from the fund before alluded to, for the redemption of captives. The whole ransom did not exceed forty pounds; but since this circumstance, few have ventured to follow so benevolent an example.

Of late, the emperor of Morocco has ordered all British seamen, wrecked on the coast of his dominions, to be purchased, and he restores them to their native government. Still there must be many unhappy persons who languish in hopeless captivity.

Gigery, as mentioned in the preceding narrative, is situated about fifty leagues to the eastward of Algiers, and the territory which goes under that name, is inhabited only by wandering tribes. Part



are the Cabayles, a race of Arabians dwelling on the lofty and extensive mountain Aurax, whither they retreated to preserve their liberty. It is of difficult access, environed by precipices; and the mere strength of the position has enabled its tenants to remain unconquered. The French formerly had an establishment in the province of Gigery, for the purpose of traffic; and towards the middle of the seventeenth century, began to erect a strong fortress. War had then broke out between them and the Algerines, and the French commander gaining intelligence of the approach of a body of Arabs, marched with 800 men against them. During his absence, another party carried the fort by storm, which induced the French to attempt some signal blow to strike terror in the enemy. They were defeated, however, with great loss, and at length obliged to evacuate the place. Ever since that period, the Cabayles make prisoners of all strangers whatever falling into their hands.

Immediately when a shipwreck happens on the coast of Gigery, the inhabitants flock down from the mountains, seizing on all they can master, without any consideration of the nation to which the vessel belongs. If a Turkish ship, the Mahometan crew are dismissed, with a sufficient supply for them to reach a place where they can be relieved; but all other subjects are made slaves. They put a high value on iron, which was on one occasion attended with fatal consequences. A bark belonging to Tunis being stranded on the coast of Gigery, the inhabitants hastened on board to plunder. The Turks and Moors composing the crew, were allowed to go at large; and the natives, after carrying off as much as they could, were anxious to obtain the iron about the vessel. Not



well knowing how to come at it, they laid a train to the powder magazine, concluding, if the ship blew up, that they should be able to collect the iron out of the fragments. On setting fire to the train, the vessel blew up indeed, but fifty of the plunderers who had not retired beyond the effects of the explosion, were killed, and a great many more wounded.

The province, or mountain of Couco, was formerly a royal territory, whose princes are recorded to have performed celebrated exploits in their wars with Spain. Its present inhabitants are a poor and wretched race, but pride themselves on their independence, which is yet unsubdued. The ancient sovereigns are also said to have had a superb palace at a city called Colico, in a fertile district, though all is now in ruins. Abundance of corn, fruit, and cattle, is still produced in Couco; and as the chiefs of despotic governments are endangered by those revolutions perpetually occurring, the dey of Algiers, when apprehensive for his safety, generally retreats hither as a place of refuge.

CONDITION OF M. DE BELLEISLE,  
ABANDONED ON THE COAST OF MEXICO. 1719.

As it comes within the province of this work to preserve an account of those hardships which had their source in some maritime event or transaction, arising from accident, the following brief but interesting narrative is presented:

In the year 1719, a great tract of American territory, called Louisiana, was transferred by the French government to the West India Company, who sent a thousand men to people it. In fulfilling their intentions, M. de Belleisle embarked in one of the company's ships at Port L'Orient, along with some other officers and volunteers for the new colony. The vessel was carried by adverse winds and currents to St Bernard Bay, in the Gulf of Mexico, where the captain sent his boat on shore to get water. With his consent, M. de Belleisle and four of his companions embarked, and, while the boat was engaged in making trips to the ship, they set out to amuse themselves hunting in the neighbourhood. At length the boat came ashore to take in her last supply of fresh water, and then departed, leaving the officers behind, who had not returned from their diversion.

The captain of the ship became impatient at the delay ; and, weighing anchor, set sail without the five passengers. Their situation on returning to the beach, and finding both ship and boat away, may easily be conceived. Thus abandoned, in an unknown country, they wandered a long time on the coast ; having the sea on one side, and a region inhabited by cannibals on the other. They could not venture to leave the shore, because, on penetrating the interior, they dreaded falling into the hands of the savages ; therefore, under the erroneous impression that the ship had steered west, they pursued the coast, imploring divine assistance, and complaining of their unhappy fate. The suddenness of their misfortunes rendered them irresolute : they lived on herbs and insects, ignorant of the means of distinguishing the good from the bad ; and were cruelly tormented by innumerable muskitoes.

In this situation, the officers continued several days. M. de Belleisle had brought a dog from the ship, which was extremely attached to him ; during the extremity of hunger which his companions suffered, they were frequently tempted to kill this dog, and although M. de Belleisle would not do so himself, he gave it up to them. One of his companions seized the dog, but being weak, the dog escaped just when a knife was about to pierce him, ran into the woods, and disappeared.

The four unfortunate officers successively died of hunger before M. de Belleisle's sight, who endeavoured as well as he could to dig holes in the earth, or rather sand, with his own hands, in order to preserve their remains from the voracity of wild beasts. He paid this tribute to human nature, while he sighed over the miseries concomitant on



it; and nothing but the strength of his constitution enabled him to survive his friends. Conquering that natural disgust which they created, he subsisted on the worms he found in rotten wood.

A few days after the death of his comrades, M. de Belleisle observed his dog at a distance, carrying something in his mouth; he called to him, and the creature, with great demonstrations of joy, came, and, fawning upon its master, laid an opossum at his feet. It howled, as if to say, here is where-withal to support life. Opossums, which are the size of a sucking pig, are palatable food.

M. de Belleisle, thus alone with his dog, sought around for subsistence. At night, he always formed a kind of entrenchment against the wild beasts, at the foot of a tree where he slept. One day a tiger approaching the place, the dog began to howl, and ran to attack it. M. de Belleisle, awakened with the noise, and as the beast had seized his dog, hastened to its relief. The tiger let go its hold, but the dog was wounded; whence M. de Belleisle, apprehensive that it might go mad, killed it, and afterwards ate it.

Being left in solitude in this desert, he fell on his knees, thanking God for hitherto preserving his life, and committing himself to his protection, as he was now about to penetrate the country in search of his fellow men.

He commenced his journey, and soon found footsteps which led him to the banks of a river; there seeing a pirogue, he entered it, and crossed the river. On the opposite shore were Indians of the nation *Attakapas*, or Cannibals, as this appellation indicates, drying human flesh and fish. M. de Belleisle was so miserably emaciated, that they took him for a spectre. He pointed to his mouth,



and made signs that he was hungry, whence they offered him some human flesh and fish, the latter of which he devoured greedily. The Indians would not kill him, he was so lean; but stripping him naked, they partitioned his clothes among themselves, and then carried him to their village, in order to fatten him. There he had the good fortune to become the slave of an old widow.

M. de Belleisle now gradually recovered his health, but he became melancholy, from constant dread of being sacrificed to the gods of the Indians, and that a banquet would be made of his flesh. He was struck with terror at beholding the feasts of the savages on the fattest of their prisoners of war, and was in constant expectation, that as soon as he attained a similar state, his brains would be beat out with their clubs. But his apprehensions were at length relieved by the Indians holding a council, in which they concluded, that it would both be disgraceful and dastardly, to kill a man who had come among them without any evil intent; therefore he remained a slave to the widow.

His slavery, though not oppressive, was disagreeable, his chief occupation being to carry the children of the cannibals; and he, besides, was forced to go almost naked. However, he experienced better treatment during the latter part of his abode.

M. de Belleisle's youth and strength enabled him to fulfil the offices of a slave to the satisfaction of his mistress, insomuch, that she adopted him, and on that account he was set at liberty, and considered as one belonging to the nation. He soon learned the Indian manner of conversing in dumb shew, and acquired the art of using the bow

and arrow as well as the natives could do themselves. They carried him along with them to their wars, and there, having slain an enemy in their presence, with an arrow, he was acknowledged a true warrior. A deer being killed by an Indian, they dried its flesh, and also that of the man, to serve as food in their expeditions. "

One day on a journey M. de Belleisle being hungry, asked for something to eat; when an Indian gave him human flesh, saying, it was that of the deer. M. de Belleisle, unaware of the deception, appeased his hunger, and the Indian afterwards said to him, "Formerly you were averse, but now you can eat human flesh as well as ourselves;" at which words M. de Belleisle vomited all that he had swallowed.

About two years after M. de Belleisle's captivity, certain deputies arrived from another nation, bearing the calumet of peace to the Attakapas. That was a nation in New Mexico, in the vicinity of the *Natches*, where M. de *Hucheros de St Denis*, highly esteemed, though belonging to another kingdom, commanded. These deputies, after attentively gazing on M. de Belleisle, told the Attakapas, his captors, that in the country from whence they came, there were white men like him. The Attakapas replied, that he was a slave whom they found near the great lake, where his comrades were starved to death; that they had conducted him to their dwellings, and a woman had made him her slave; that they had taken him along with them to fight against a nation, which they overcame in a battle; and on that occasion he had distinguished himself by killing one of their adversaries with an arrow, for which reason they

had adopted him, and received him as a warrior among them.

M. de Belleisle appeared inattentive to this conversation; but it immediately excited the idea of his being able to return to his own country. He took one of the Indian deputies aside, and questioned him strictly about the white man he had seen. Fortunately he had preserved his commission in a box; and having made some ink from soot, he contrived to write at the foot of it: "I am that individual abandoned at St Bernard's Bay. My companions died of hunger and misery before me; and I am captive among the Attakapas." The unfortunate officer then gave his commission to the Indian, telling him it was some *speaking paper*, and that by presenting it to the chief of the French in his country, he should be well received.

The Indian conceived that something sacred was attached to this paper, because he was told it would speak for him to the French, and his countrymen wished to deprive him of it; but he evaded them by swimming across a river, and lest the writing should be wet, held it above his head. After a journey of 450 miles, he arrived in the country of the Natches. The French commander, M. Hucheros de St Denis, was an officer of distinction: he was known from having made the first journey overland from Louisiana to Mexico, where he married the Spanish governor's niece. The Indian gave him M. de Belleisle's letter, and obtained a courteous reception, and many presents. M. de St Denis next began to express his grief after the manner of the Indians, who then inquired into the cause. He answered, that he wept



for his brother, who was captive among the Attakapas. M. de St Denis, being highly esteemed by the surrounding nations, the Indians, who brought the letter, promised to bring M. de Belleisle himself; and some of the other Indians also engaged in the enterprise.

M. de St Denis gave them some shirts and a hat for the captive; on which they immediately set out on horseback, ten in number, and armed with guns, promising M. de St Denis to return in two moons, with his brother mounted on a horse, which they led with them.

On arriving in the country of the Attakapas, the Indians repeatedly discharged their fire-arms, which, from the explosion, the natives supposed to be thunder. They delivered M. de Belleisle the letter from M. de St Denis, which mentioned that he had nothing to fear from the Indians who carried it, and that he already rejoiced at the near prospect of seeing him. The joy of M. de Belleisle is indescribable: he dreaded, however, that the Attakapas would oppose his departure. Several of the deputation, made him quickly get on horseback, and rode off with their whole coadjutors; while the Attakapas, alarmed by the report of the muskets, never ventured to interfere. The old woman who had adopted him, shed tears at his departure. Thus did M. de Belleisle escape a captivity, which might otherwise have lasted as long as life.

On his arrival in the territory of the Natches, he did not find M. de St Denis, for he was gone to Biloxis, the chief town of Louisiana, before the building of New Orleans; but the commanding officer, in his absence, sent M. de Belleisle to the governor of the province. The governor liberally



rewarded his deliverers, and testified great joy on seeing him : all congratulated him on his liberation from captivity.

The governor sent a present to the Attakapas, a nation which the Spaniards were never able to subdue, and also one to the widow, who had adopted and protected his countryman. These people, little expecting this mark of generosity, returned ambassadors, who were accompanied by M. de Belleisle's mistress, to thank him and make an alliance with the French. The chief of the mission addressed the governor in these words, "My father, the white man whom you behold here, is your own flesh and blood ; he was united to us by adoption. His brothers were starved to death : had my nation found them, they would have lived and enjoyed the same prerogative."

Since that period, the French have always been humanely treated by the Attakapas, who have, from their persuasion, left off the savage custom of eating human flesh. When they came to New Orleans, they were well received by all the French, in gratitude for their reception of M. de Belleisle ; for without their aid, he would have perished like his companions.

The Attakapas are a race of Americans, whose territory lies immediately north of the Gulf of Mexico, and is included under the great tract of land more recently denominated Louisiana. The district which they occupy is extremely fertile, abounding in all the valuable productions of the earth, situated under a temperate climate, and intersected by deep narrow rivers, navigable by vessels of moderate size. In short, it is a country represented as one of the most beautiful and

agreeable that can be conceived. The savages having entered into a reciprocal traffic with the French established near their confines, a Frenchman, who sprung from a rich family in Grenoble, resolved to settle among them about the middle of last century. He therefore carried twenty negroes along with him, whom he treated as a father, and led a primitive and frugal life, cultivating the ground, and pasturing flocks. His only dwelling was a hut, and his bed bear-skins spread on the planks of the floor. He wore those of goats for clothing, and a horn spoon, together with a knife, were suspended from his girdle. In this state he lived twenty years, exercising all the offices of hospitality; and when he died, the negroes of his establishment becoming free, formed a small colony, which still subsists. The possessions of that Frenchman were improved by two of his own countrymen, whom he had patronised, and who realized large fortunes from them.

When the arrangements with the late Spanish government took place, an opportunity was afforded of forming establishments on a more extensive scale, and many of those unfortunate persons who fled from the massacres of St Domingo, found an asylum here. In 1803, the whole population of the settlement amounted to 3746 souls, of whom about one-third were slaves.

Circumstances are so favourable for its increase, enjoying a soil and climate the best adapted for agricultural purposes, extensive meadows covered by vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and, above all, internal tranquillity, that it may gradually attain the greatest prosperity.

## LOSS OF THE ~~W~~ SPEEDWELL

ON THE ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDEZ, MAY 25,  
1720.

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**D**URING the war between Great Britain and Spain, towards the earlier part of the eighteenth century, privateers of very considerable force were fitted out in various English ports, chiefly for the purpose of harassing the trade of the enemy. But the general idea of the riches brought home from the Spanish settlements in South America, as well as the state of the colonies themselves, presented powerful attractions for adventurers to go thither, in the hopes of bettering their fortunes. This was either done by persons embarking in their own ships, or they were sent out in the command of ships belonging to others. We must lament, however, to observe, that the species of warfare they carried on in such privateers was but little remote from piracy: their object was commonly, nay, it may be said universally, the search of plunder. The peaceful trader was despoiled of the earnings of his labour, while the sight of a warlike enemy was the signal for flight; and sometimes, when disappointed of booty, the invaders burnt whole towns, and reduced the defenceless inhabitants to ruin.

In the year 1719, two vessels were fitted out for an expedition against the Spanish settlements on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico. One, called the Success, carrying thirty-six guns, was commanded by Captain John Clipperton; and the other, called the Speedwell, carrying above twenty guns and manned with a company of one hundred and one men and officers, commanded by Captain George Shelvocke.

They sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of February, but parted company soon afterwards, and it is to the proceedings of the latter, the Speedwell, that this narrative is to be directed.

On the 19th a violent storm came on from the south-west, which obliged Captain Shelvocke to take in his top-sail at ten o'clock; and, by eleven, the vessel was under bare poles, and unable to show a slip of canvas all night, except, for a very short time, a reefed mizen. About midnight a sea struck her quarter, which drove in one of the quarter and one of the stern dead-lights, and she shipped great quantities of water before they could be got up again. For a considerable time she was in the greatest danger of foundering: the people could not get her before the wind, nor could they work the pumps on deck, the lee pump being constantly under water; besides, such a succession of prodigious seas broke over them, that no one could stand upright. In this situation, recourse was had to the chain-pump, and by means of it the vessel was saved. It was then uncommon for ships of less than two hundred tons to have chain-pumps. A seaman can estimate the condition of the Speedwell, a vessel of not above two hundred tons, with eighteen six-pounders mounted between decks, and a large fourteen-oared launch under the hatches; crowded with provi-



sions for a long voyage, and four-fifths of the people landmen. The greatest part of the ship's company were so terrified by this storm, that Captain Shelvocke was told next morning, that no less than seventy of them were resolved on bearing away for England, to make a complaint against the ship. They alleged that she was so very crank, that she would never be able to encounter a voyage to the South Seas.

On the 23d of February, the captain having observed some symptoms of discontent among the crew, ordered them all on deck, and there explained to them the goodness of the ship, to his own knowledge, and promised, as they had no awning, to provide some shelter for them over-head. He also reminded them of the scheme of the voyage, and encouraged them with the prospect of success. Nevertheless, all that he could say was to little purpose, as the people persisted in their resolution to clap the helm a-weather, and proceeded such lengths, that he was under the necessity of calling for the assistance of his officers to reduce the mutineers to subordination. At the sight of most of the officers armed, they were somewhat appalled, and soon disbanded themselves. Captain Shelvocke then ordered two of them to be tied up for punishment; but on the submissive entreaties of their comrades, added to promises of future good conduct, he was induced to pardon the offence. Nevertheless, it occasioned him great uneasiness to find himself with a ship's company likely to occasion such trouble and vexation. The only damage sustained by the late storm was the water destroying about a thousand weight of bread and a barrel of powder.

On the 17th of March the Speedwell reached the Canary Islands, where she captured an open boat of only sixteen tons, laden with salt, and a little wine; and, on the 29th, departed for the Cape de Verd Islands, along with her prize, in hopes of meeting the Success. In the passage thither the people again began to murmur, whence Captain Shelvocke thought it prudent to remove the arms out of their reach.

While approaching the Isle of May on the 14th of April, the Speedwell was taken for a pirate by the vessels lying there, and several shot fired at her; but, on being satisfied of the reverse, the captains came on board and made an apology. Here the gunner was discharged for improper conduct.

The Speedwell arrived at Porto Praya on the 18th of April, where the prize was sold for one hundred and fifty dollars to the governor. Six men deserted in the launch, only two of whom were recovered.

The captain, in the next place, sailed for the island of St Catherine's, on the coast of Brasil, where he arrived after a passage of twenty-one days, and there obtained wood and water. A large ship appearing at dawn of the 2d of July, the Speedwell was put in a posture of defence, and two guns, with a party of men, were prepared to protect the things at the watering-place; the launch also was dispatched, well manned and armed, to see what could be made of her. She proved the Ruby, a French man-of-war, formerly belonging to the English, and now commanded by M. la Jonquiere. This gentleman, observing that he was viewed with suspicion, sent one of his lieutenants to assure Captain Shelvocke of his pacific intentions, and asked him to dine on board, where he

met with a most polite reception. He said, that the Spaniards were apprised of the arrival of the two English vessels, in these seas, and proposed sending some men-of-war to cope with them, which Captain Shelvocke, sensible of the disposition of his crew, requested him to keep secret. He thought, if they were aware of any difficulties, that he should not be able to persuade them to advance further.

On the sixth of July, M. la Jonquiere dined in the Speedwell, accompanied by several of his officers and passengers. A mutiny, in the meantime, arose, which the captain could only quell by the interposition of the French gentlemen and his own officers. It was the source of melancholy reflection to him, that he, who had been an officer thirty years in the service, should now be continually harassed by the mutiny of turbulent people. The boatswain was the chief offender, but Captain Shelvocke pardoned him on his making great concessions, and desiring leave to go home in the French ship, which he willingly granted.

On the 15th a large ship was working into the harbour, when, on discovering those within, she stood out again. M. la Jonquiere, alarmed lest she was the consort of the Speedwell, was in a great hurry and confusion to be gone; accordingly, he weighed anchor and went to sea, saluting her with five guns. Three Frenchmen belonging to the Speedwell went with him, and he left two Frenchmen, and one Morpew, an Irishman, to her in return.

Another French ship, called Le Sage Solomon, of forty guns, came in on the 25th of July, and proved to be the same that was before working into the harbour. Captain Shelvocke purchased from her

commander some provisions, and other articles of which he stood in need. Here three men deserted, and the crew continued to testify such a disposition, that the captain doubted whether he could induce them to leave the island.

At length he sailed on the 8th of August, and, traversing the coast of Patagonia, fell in with an immense number of whales, which lay so near the vessel, that she could scarce avoid striking on them. On approaching Terra del Fuego, misty weather prevailed, and stupendous mountains were seen entirely covered with snow. Being within eight leagues of the land on the 13th of September, and approaching still nearer the following day, a bare and desolate country appeared. After passing the straits of Le Maire, there was cold stormy weather, and the snow and sleet, constantly beating on the rigging, rendered it almost useless, as every rope, and even the masts, were cased with ice.

On Saturday, the 14th of November, the coast of Chili was in sight, at which time there was an absolute necessity for recruiting the stock of wood and water; and the course of the Speedwell was directed for Narborough's Island. However, on approaching the shore, the depth of water proved so very variable and uncertain, that it was judged unsafe to come to an anchor. Captain Shelvocke, therefore, made the best of his way to the island of Chiloe, and cast anchor there on the 30th of the same month.

A boat having come off from the governor to ascertain who he was, he passed himself for a Frenchman called Janis le Breton, who, he knew, was then in these seas, said that his ship was homeward-bound, and called the St Rose. Captain



Shelvocke found some difficulty in obtaining a supply of provisions, and the governor proving dilatory in sending, he dispatched his first lieutenant on shore to take what he could get, and thus obtained an abundant supply.

On the 17th of December he sailed for the Bay of Conception, where he arrived five days afterwards; and took two vessels, one called the *Solidad d'Anday*, of 150 tons burden, and another belonging to a priest, of 25 tons. Then, getting intelligence of a ship with a valuable lading lying about two leagues to the northward, he sent the second lieutenant and twenty-five men in the latter vessel, with directions to reach the bay where she lay, but positively precluding them from going on shore, or making any attempt whatever. Nevertheless, finding her ashore, they landed, when, suddenly, a number of horses without riders came down upon them, and, after these, men mounted, who killed and wounded five of the party; incidents which increased the discontent already prevailing among the crew.

Captain Shelvocke then took the *St Firmin*, a Spanish vessel of 300 tons burden, of considerable value. A flag of truce soon came from the governor, and proposals to ransom the vessels, and a Jesuit came off to beg him to restore ten large silver candlesticks, each weighing twenty-five pounds, without ransom, being a legacy left to his convent. The captain said he should have them for their weight in dollars, to which the Jesuit replied, that they never bought things intended for sacred uses.

Sixteen thousand dollars were asked for the ransom of the *St Firmin*, and the governor offered only twelve thousand for her and the priest's vessel.

But, after a considerable time occupied in correspondence, Captain Shelvocke, suspecting that the governor had no real intentions of coming to a conclusion, set both the ships on fire, and then sold the plunder taken out of them at the mast.

The voyage was continued to the island of Juan Fernandez, and thence to the town of Arica on the coast of Peru, where some small prizes were taken. From Arica, Captain Shelvocke sailed for the town of Payta on the same coast, and entered the gulf on the 21st of March, with French colours flying.

In the course of the voyage the small vessel of sixteen tons was equipped and manned, and called the Mercury, and lately before this period was taken, with Captain Betagh, the captain of marines in her.

At Payta a small ship was taken, and the Speedwell came to an anchor within three-quarters of a mile of the town, which appeared to be pretty large and populous. Captain Shelvocke, notwithstanding, landed with forty-six men, leaving Mr Coldsea, the master, and a few others, to bring the ship nearer in, that the plunder might be the more expeditiously embarked.

He found the town entirely deserted by the inhabitants; and the Success having been here before, gave them time to remove all their effects up to the mountains, among which was part of the king's treasure, amounting to four hundred thousand pieces of eight, in the governor's possession. The day was, therefore, spent in embarking live stock, flour, sugar, and other things.

In the afternoon the governor sent a messenger demanding to know what ransom Captain Shelvocke would take for the town and ship, to which he re-

plied, "that ten thousand pieces of eight must be paid down within twenty-four hours." Different communications took place on the subject, when the governor expressed that he did not care what was done, with the town, provided the churches were spared. No conclusion being obtained, the town was set on fire in two or three places, and as the houses were extremely dry, the conflagration rapidly extended.

But no sooner was Payta in a blaze, than signals were incessantly made from the ship for the captain to come off, and she kept up a constant firing towards the mouth of the harbour. All hands were therefore ordered into the boats, Captain Shelvocke himself going in a canoe with three men only. Before he had got half way to the Speedwell, he saw a large ship lying with her fore-top-sail aback, and with a Spanish flag flying. At this view, two of his three people were ready to sink, and had it not been for the boatswain, he would never have been able to reach the ship. If this stranger vessel, which proved to be a Spanish admiral's ship, had continued her course, she could not have failed to take the Speedwell, for there were not above eight or nine white people on board to resist. But Mr Coldsea the master, with the assistance of these few, kept up such a smart fire, that the Spaniards, apprehending a keen defence, brought their ship to, that they might put her in a condition for a vigorous attack.

This inactivity enabled Captain Shelvocke to reach the Speedwell, when he made every preparation, both to deceive the admiral, and give him a warm reception. Meantime, the officers on shore unwilling to leave a gun behind, which had been mounted in the town, delayed so long, that

before all the people could get on board, the enemy were within pistol shot. Captain Shelvocke then cut his cable, when the ship falling the wrong way, he could just clear the admiral; but there was a great damp cast on the spirits of his people, at seeing a ship mounting fifty-six guns, with four hundred and twenty men, opposed to the Speedwell, which had only twenty then mounted, with seventy-three white men, and eleven negroes. Some of them in coming off, were for leaping into the water and swimming ashore, which one actually did.

Captain Shelvocke being under the admiral's lee, endeavoured to get into shoal water; however, he was becalmed by the ship nearly an hour, and all the time exposed to a heavy fire. He answered the fire as briskly as possible, but in the hurry and confusion of getting off from the town, most of the small arms were so wet, that it was late before they could be of any use. During this time, there was a confused scene on shore of the town on fire, and the people flocking down from the hills, partly endeavouring to extinguish it, and partly employed in earnestly beholding the engagement.

Captain Shelvocke long despaired of being able to escape from the enemy; he expected that every moment they would attempt to board, and on hearing loud shouting, and seeing the forecastle full of men, concluded that they had fully determined upon it. Presently he discovered that the cause of their acclamations arose from their having shot away the Speedwell's ensign staff, and seeing the ensign trailing in the water, were in hopes she had struck. Captain Shelvocke, however, soon undeceived them, by hoisting a new ensign in the



mizen shrouds. At length, designing to overwhelm the Speedwell at once, the Spaniards clapped their helm a starboard, to bring their whole broadside to bear. But their fire had little or no effect; the Speedwell had time to get ahead before the sails could fill again, and if her masts, which were then only slenderly supported, would stand, the captain found that she would soon get beyond their reach. This actually ensued, and then he began to repair his damage.

None of the men were killed or wounded; but the ship suffered severely. The stern was much shattered, and the rigging disabled; the main-mast was wounded; it stood nevertheless, with no more than one good shroud to support it. A shot took the bow of the launch as she lay on the Speedwell's quarter, and, setting fire to some powder cartridges which had been negligently left in her, she was blown from her moorings and lost. Another shot dismounted one of the guns between decks; but although many splinters flew about, and a number of people stood by, they all luckily escaped.

The admiral, after chasing some time, tacked, and stood into port, when the Speedwell shortened sail. Next morning, the Brilliant, another Spanish ship of thirty-six guns, was in chase of the Speedwell, and gained on her the whole day, though very little wind prevailed. On the approach of night, Captain Shelvocke set a light adrift in a tub, darkening one part of the lanthorn, that it might bear the greater resemblance to a ship's light, and immediately altered his course. Probably this deluded the enemy, as, when day broke, no ships were to be seen,

Captain Shelvocke finding himself so closely pursued, and considering the state of the coast, that an embargo was laid on all the shipping, thought it was better to repair to the coast of Mexico. He intended to sail for the island of Juan Fernandez to water there, and judged, that afterwards he might have some chance of success by lying in the track of a valuable Spanish vessel from Manilla.

On the 26th of March 1720, having well secured the masts, and bent a new suit of sails, Captain Shelvocke stood to the southward, expecting to make the passage in about five weeks; and, on Monday the 28th, the carpenter began to build a boat to water with at Juan Fernandez. But the ship sprung a dangerous leak within a few days afterwards, which damaged the greater part of the powder. It was found to proceed from a shot which had lodged in the bow during the engagement, and had lately fallen out in the working of the ship, and allowed a stream of water to enter. Had it been foul weather her people could hardly have kept her above water; and, with great difficulty, they were able to stop the leak securely.

On May the 6th, they made the westernmost of the islands of Juan Fernandez, distant twelve leagues; and the day afterwards the carpenters completed the boat, which was large enough to carry three hogsheads. On the 11th the great island of Juan Fernandez was seen, where Captain Shelvocke plied off and on till the 21st, but could not get a sufficient quantity of water on board. This induced him to think of anchoring for a few hours in the road; and in order to do so, he prepared twenty tons of casks to send on shore. He then worked in, and anchored in forty fathom

water, and made a warp of the length of three hawsers and a half, which was fastened to the rocks to steady the ship; and by it the raft of casks was hauled on shore and on board. Next morning he was ready to go to sea, but had no opportunity of doing so for four days.

On the 25th of May a hard gale of wind arose, blowing on the land, bringing along with it a tumbling swell. Though the cable was quite new, it parted in a few hours, and then there immediately appeared the prospect of inevitable shipwreck, and which no means or interposition could prevent. The ship struck violently, and the main-mast, fore-mast, and mizen top mast, were all carried away at once. She beat so hard that the people were obliged to hold themselves on the deck, from the moment of her first touching the rocks. Their surprise at this unexpected event is not to be described; and, in a very few minutes, the ship was full of water, and almost every thing destroyed. All the people, however, except one man, were saved.

Captain Shelvocke hastened to preserve his commission, and, recollecting the powder to be uppermost in the bread-room, got most of it immediately up, as well as seven or eight bags of bread. These were secured to windward, as the ship did not immediately go to pieces. Some of the mathematical instruments and books were saved, and two or three compasses, but little or nothing out of the surgeon's chest.

The masts luckily went over the off-side, which left room to make a raft, and by this means, and the assistance of those on shore, all but the man already mentioned got to land before it was quite dark. Now their situation was extremely uncom-

fortable, almost without provisions, and totally deprived of shelter on a desolate island; they were obliged to repose on the wet ground, listening to the howling of seas and sea-lions, which lay so numerous on the beach, that the people were obliged to clear their way of them as they came along. They had lighted a fire, however, and, wrapping themselves up in whatever they could get, slept soundly notwithstanding the badness of the night; but, on rising in the morning with the first glimpse of day, they looked at each other as if in a dream: so deeply were they impressed with the sudden change of their condition.

The captain endeavoured to urge the men to exert themselves to get what necessaries could be procured from the remnants of the wreck; but, instead of following his admonitions, they were employed in building huts and tents, as if already designing to settle on the island for good. Meantime a furious storm destroyed the wreck, and every thing in it, except one cask of beef, and another of flour, which were washed ashore. Captain Shelvocke saved only eleven hundred dollars belonging to the owners of the Speedwell. These had been kept in his own chest; the rest being deposited at the bottom of the bread-room for security, could not possibly be attained.

He then selected a spot for erecting his own tent, favourable, both with regard to the weather, and secure from being easily surprised by the enemy; situated about half a mile from the sea, and near to a fine run of water, and also with fuel in the vicinity. The people took up their quarters within call of him, in as advantageous a manner as they could; and, as the cold season was approaching, some of them thatched their dwellings: some co-



vered them with the skins of seals and sea-lions, while others got up water-butts, and slept in them under the shelter of a tree.

Captain Shelvocke next summoned his crew together, and told them that the only means of leaving this desolate island consisted in building a vessel fit to carry them off, and asked them whether they were willing to begin the work or not. To this they all answered in the affirmative, and, promising to be diligent, begged his directions how to proceed. Various useful articles were recovered from the wreck material for their purpose, and, on the 8th of June, blocks were laid, on which the new vessel was to be built. She was to be thirty feet in the keel, sixteen feet in the beam, and seven feet deep in the hold.

Considerable difficulties retarded her progress; the wood was sometimes distant, and the people greatly fatigued in procuring it: however, in two months she made a tolerable appearance, chiefly owing to the skill and assiduity of the armourer. He also commenced and finished a large serviceable boat, of which the crew stood very much in need.

But that same mutinous spirit which from the beginning pervaded the men, now began to show itself in more glaring colours. After they had undergone the more laborious part of the work, they entirely neglected it, and formed cabals among themselves, and with some of the officers. They drew up regulations, whereby they constituted themselves into a set of adventurers, and excluded those altogether under whose patronage they had been sent from England; and, having done this, they considered Captain Shelvocke no longer entitled to the command, now that the Speedwell was

lost. They obliged him to deliver up the eleven hundred dollars which had been saved, under pretence, that, having been recovered from a wreck, the owners had no right whatever to it; and further designed to deprive him of all the respect due to his situation. They next came in a body to demand the arms; and when they had got possession of them and the ammunition, inconsiderately squandered the latter, by shooting at any thing that took their fancy.

But the sight of a large ship on the 15th of August created great alarm. Should the English have been discovered by the Spaniards, they knew that they would certainly be taken, without any hope of redemption. The fires were therefore put out, and the negroes confined, lest any of them might attempt to swim off to her; and on this occasion, Captain Shelvocke got most of the people under arms with little difficulty, the apparent danger being an inducement for them to unite in some degree against it.

Yet the very next day a question arose among them, whether it would not be better to build two shallops, and set what was done of the bark on fire: and their opinions, which, according to regulations, were to be decided by a majority, were chiefly influenced against it by the state of the tools, which were now almost wore out. The people were divided among themselves; one party desired to have the first lieutenant for their captain; another still wished that Captain Shelvocke should retain the command; and a third, to the number of twelve, resolved to have nothing to do with the other two, but remain behind on the island. These separated themselves from the rest, and came back only in the night, to steal away from the bark and the tents

whatever they could lay their hands on, insomuch that Captain Shelvocke declared, if they were found within musket-shot of the tents, they should be treated as enemies. These divisions weakened the ability of the men for insubordination, and they began, by degrees, to listen to the captain's persuasions.

As he got most of them into a disposition for working, they began to plank the bottom of the bark, which proved a most difficult enterprise; for they had nothing but the deck of the wreck, which was so brittle, that it split and rent into innumerable pieces. By constant labour alone, and various contrivances, the bottom was patched up, and its tightness tried by pouring in water. But this experiment was followed by an universal outcry, *A sieve, a sieve*; and the people immediately desponded so much at her leaky condition, that Captain Shelvocke apprehended they would have desisted entirely from the undertaking.

The bark was, by incessant assiduity, at length brought into a tolerable condition, and the ship's pumps, though much shattered, fitted on board. It was proposed also, that, before going to sea, the cooper should make a bucket for each man, and that she should be launched on the 5th of October, being the next spring-tide. Canvas was patched up for sails; the cooper completed his casks; and the masts were pretty well rigged. A quantity of provisions was likewise prepared, consisting almost entirely of conger-eels dried in smoke, and seal-oil to fry them in. Of these two thousand three hundred had been caught, each weighing about a pound at an average; and of the seal-oil there was made about sixty gallons. These articles, with one cask of beer, five or six of flour,

and four or five hogs, constituted the whole of the sea-stock.

The appointed time having arrived, all was ready for launching the vessel, but as she fell from the blocks in launching, what was to receive her abaft gave way, and she settled down and stuck fast. Her head being towards the sea, grievous apprehensions were entertained of an irretrievable misfortune; but on applying purchases, it was found that she hung less heavily than was dreaded, and she was got clear off the same tide. As she went off, Captain Shelvocke named her the *Recovery*. She had two masts, and was of about twenty tons burthen.

As it was dangerous for her to lie here any time, as her only anchor was a large stone, and a light rope the cable, by which means very little wind would have drove her ashore on the rocks, all the water was got off that day. This was accomplished with the more ease and expedition, because the casks were ready stowed in the hold. Next day the whole people embarked, except eleven or twelve of the crew, and the like number of negroes and Indians, who remained behind. It was then found that one pump constantly working would keep the vessel free.

In distributing the provisions, one of the conger eels was allowed to each man in twenty-four hours, which was cooked on a fire made in a half tub, filled with earth; and the water was sucked out of a cask by means of a musquet barrel. The people on board consisted of above fifty persons, all uncomfortably crowded together, and lying on the bundles of eels; and in this manner was the voyage resumed.

Captain Shelvocke proposed to stand for the



Bay of Conception, being the nearest port, in hopes of capturing some vessel larger than his own. While the sea breeze continued, the condition of the people was very disagreeable, for there not being above sixteen inches of the side free, and the bark tumbling prodigiously, the water continually run over them; and having only a grating deck, and no tarpauling to cover it, except the bark's topsail, which was but thin, the pumps could scarce keep her clear. Captain Shelvocke was unwilling to ease her by bearing away, as the port of Conception was the place on which his hopes of success chiefly rested.

On the 10th of October, he came in sight of a large ship, and by the moonlight could see that she was European built. But as the case of him and his people was now desperate, they stood towards her. Being rigged like the small vessels of the country, this ship paid no regard to the bark, until a little after daylight, when the brownness of the sails created suspicions; those of the Spaniards in that country are always very white, owing to their substance, which is cotton. Therefore she wore and hauled close on a wind to the westward. This done, the Recovery hoisted her colours, fired a gun, and crowded away at a great rate. In two hours it fell calm, and gave the bark an opportunity of making considerable way with her oars. Meantime the arms were examined, and found to be in very bad condition; one-third of the muskets wanting flints, and there were but three cutlasses; therefore, the people were ill provided for boarding, which gave the only prospect of succeeding. They had no more than one small cannon, which they could not mount, and were therefore obliged to fire it, as it lay along on the deck; their ammunition

consisted of two round shot, a few chain bolts, and bolt heads, the clapper of the Speedwell's bell, and some bags of stones from the beach for partridge shot.

In about four hours, the Recovery came up with the ship, from which her people were called English dogs, and defied to come on board; and at the same time saluted with a volley of great and small shot, which killed the gunner, and almost carried away the foremast. So warm a reception staggered many of Captain Shelvocke's men, and those who before seemed the most forward, now lay upon their oars, insomuch that he had difficulty to make them keep their way. But recovering themselves, they rowed up, and engaged the enemy, until all their small shot was expended, which done they fell astern to make slugs.

In this manner they made three attempts, all equally unsuccessful; and they found it impossible to board the ship, she was so lofty, especially from the want of pistols and cutlasses, which are the only weapons for close fighting.

It was calm the whole night, during which the people of the Recovery were busy making slugs, and having provided a great quantity against morning, they came to the desperate resolution of either carrying the ship, or of submitting to her. At day-break Captain Shelvocke ordered twenty men into the yawl to lay her athwart the hawse, whilst he boarded in the bark. The people in the boat put off, giving him repeated assurances of their determination; but just at the very juncture of coming to action, a breeze sprung up, and the ship gained on them: as the gale freshened, the captain expected she would have run him down, which she could have easily done; however, she

bore away, probably for some port on the coast, Valparaiso or Coquimbo. The Recovery chased her all that day, and the following night; and at day-light of the succeeding morning, saw her close to the land, and she continued her course along shore until out of sight. This ship was called the *Margarita*, and had been a privateer, mounting forty guns, belonging to St Maloes.

The gunner of the Recovery was killed, the first lieutenant, the master, and one of the men wounded. The surgeon had nothing but seal oil, and things he had found in the island, to apply to the wounds; yet all did well: though the master, who was shot through the groin, lingered in a miserable manner nine or ten months, he then recovered.

A hard gale prevailed during four days, which put the bark in the greatest danger: she was obliged to sail away under bare poles, with the yawl in tow; and having but short scope of boat-rope for her, the Recovery, on every descent of the sea, was in imminent hazard of her stern being beat in, by the violence of the boat's precipitate fall after her: and once in particular, a great hollow sea almost threw the boat upon deck. The excessive terror inspired by this storm, which appeared the more dreadful from the description of the vessel, made many of the people resolve to go on shore the very first opportunity.

Soon afterwards, having come in sight of the island of *Iqueique*, the second-lieutenant, and a party of men, made a descent upon it, and, without opposition, brought off a considerable quantity of provisions, and also a large boat. This entirely changed the face of affairs, and substituted plenty for the kind of famine which was previously en-

dured; and the design of going ashore was altogether abandoned. It was proposed to visit the port of Arica, from which they were deterred by nothing, except information of a large ship lying there, which induced them to steer for the road of Le Nasco, lying in sixteen degrees south latitude, and Pisco, lying between thirteen and fourteen; both of which places were noted for their exportation of wine and brandy.

On the morning of arriving off the high land of Le Nasco, the Recovery fell in with a large ship, called the St Francisca Palacio, of seven hundred tons burthen. She carried eight guns, ten patents, and a great number of men. An engagement ensued, of which the circumstances bore much resemblance to that with the Margarita. The Recovery rowed up to her in a calm, and fought her for six or seven hours without success, when the sea breeze set in so strong, and the sea ran so high, that, if an attempt had been made to board, the bark would have been dashed to pieces. She was therefore obliged to abandon the encounter, and what would have proved a valuable prize, for the St Francisca was so deeply laden, that, as she rolled, the water ran through the scuppers over her upper deck. Yet, having a very deep waste, she appeared lofty, especially abaft, where she bore more resemblance to an ill-contrived wooden castle, than to a modern built European vessel.

Unfortunately, this second failure in capturing such a ship, produced discontent and murmurings among the unsteady crew of the Recovery; and although Captain Shelvocke took precautions to prevent desertion, two of the men carried off the best boat, and he understood that a party was



forming to carry off the other ; but their object was defeated by the wind blowing fresh. Several days afterwards the two deserters were recovered ; they had hardly ate or drank for three days, and had just before been ashore to kill some seals, for the sake of the blood : thus they were almost famished.

In the Road of Pisco a large ship was seen, and an immediate resolution adopted of making a desperate attempt to board her. Every man was ordered to prepare himself to carry her at one blow, as now was an opportunity of providing themselves with a vessel, which would prove their security if they should be successful.

Captain Shelvocke, therefore, bore down in the Recovery, and laid her athwart the hawse ; but, to his great satisfaction, he met with no resistance, the captain and his officers receiving him in a submissive manner, with their hats off, and asking quarter. The prize proved to be a good vessel, called the Jesus Maria, of about two hundred tons burden, laden with pitch, tar, copper, and plank, but nothing else, as whatever might have been valuable, was carried away in the boat.

The captain offered sixteen thousand dollars to ransom his ship ; but Captain Shelvocke was precluded from acceding to his proposal, because the masts of the Recovery had been disabled in boarding, and he also wished to retain the vessel for the convenience of greater room and cleanliness, which he had never enjoyed from the time of leaving the island of Juan Fernandez. Thus great dispatch was used in removing every thing from the bark on board of this vessel, the Jesus Maria, and, after Captain Shelvocke gave his bark to the Spanish captain, he weighed anchor and stood out to sea.

The purpose of the Speedwell's voyage, her wreck on the island of Juan Fernandez, and the means which her people adopted to leave the island, and gain another vessel capable of making a voyage, being thus briefly narrated, it is unnecessary to follow them farther. But, in conclusion, it may be observed, that the objects of the original enterprise continued to be prosecuted through various parts of the Spanish dominions in South America, and sometimes with success. Payta was visited a second time, although several vessels were out in pursuit of the English, and a small quantity of plunder obtained. In the road of Sonsonate, on the coast of Mexico, Captain Shelvocke engaged a Spanish ship, of six guns and seventy men, and took her, after a smart action. She was called the *Sacra Familia*, of three hundred tons burthen; and, having the character of a good sailer, and being better fitted out than his own, he shifted his people on board of her.

Proposals were made by a merchant to purchase the *Jesus Maria*; and the governor of the place affirmed there was a treaty on foot between Spain and England, and signified, if Captain Shelvocke refused to deliver up the *Sacra Familia*, that he would treat him and his people as pirates. The first-lieutenant and some of the men being on shore, the governor detained them; and Captain Shelvocke, being in want of water, was, in the mean time, obliged to put to sea.

Many islands and other places were diligently searched for water, but none could be obtained. There were forty-three persons on board, and not above forty gallons in the ship, when the allowance was reduced to half a pint for each man, with the prospect of getting none before reaching the

island of Quibo, at that time, the 13th of April 1721, about two hundred leagues distant; and on this allowance the people continued thirteen days. Meanwhile an universal fever prevailed in the ship, and great languor; but, on the 20th of the same month, water was unexpectedly found in the island of Cano

A vessel, called the Holy Sacrament, was taken on the 15th of May, and some of Captain Shelvocke's people put on board, along with the Spanish prisoners. However, some time afterwards, the prisoners rose upon the men and murdered them. This, and other disasters, reduced the total number of those that had sailed from England to twenty-six.

Captain Shelvocke, in a short time afterwards, sailed for the coast of California, where he arrived in August, in Porto Seguro, and almost immediately departed for China. In the course of the voyage, very great sickness and mortality prevailed in the vessel, insomuch, that two men were once committed to the sea in one day;—the armourer, who had been so useful when the Speedwell was wrecked on Juan Fernandez, and the carpenter's mate. The carpenter, gunner, several others, and some of the best negroes, also died: and, to add to the calamity of the survivors, the ship began to be very leaky, and one of the pumps having split, became useless.

At length, only six or seven of the whole people were fit for duty, and, though extremely desirable, they durst not land at any islands on the way to seek relief. On the 11th of November they arrived in the road of Macao, when the ship was in such a condition, that she could scarce longer stand the sea. In the course of four days they



worked her up to Canton, where the captains of the Indiamen expressed their astonishment at the raggedness of the sails, the state of the vessel, and the sickness of the men combined.

Towards the latter end of December, Captain Shelvocke, having recommended to his remaining people to embark in the homeward bound East-Indiamen for England, himself obtained a passage in the Cadogan; and, on the 1st of August 1722, he landed at Dover, after being absent three years and seven months, on an unsuccessful voyage.

The islands, called Juan Fernandez by a Spaniard who discovered them in 1563, are two in number; the larger of which, where the Speedwell was wrecked, lies in  $33^{\circ} 40'$ , south latitude, and  $80^{\circ} 30'$ , west longitude. The other was distinguished by the Spaniards as *mas afuera*, or the outer island, now corrupted into a proper name, *Masafuero*, while the larger island only is called Juan Fernandez.

This island was long a place of resort by the adventurers and freebooters infesting the South Seas, in the end of the 17th, and beginning of the following century, on account of the numerous conveniences and refreshments it afforded. Some of the principal navigators also of those seas, such as Anson, Ulloa, and others, afterwards resorted thither for provisions, or to re-establish the health of their crews. In the course of frequent visits to Juan Fernandez, individuals have been abandoned, and lived years in solitude on the island, as exemplified in the history of an Indian belonging to the Moscheto territory, and Alexander Selkirk, a native of Scotland, on which, and some other incidents re-



corded in these volumes, the well-known story of Robinson Crusoe is said to have been founded.

As the island was a place of such resort by the freebooters, that they were enabled, by means of supplies of wood, water, and, in particular, goats' flesh, to carry on their depredations against the Spanish settlements in South America, the governor of Chili sent a number of dogs to the island, for the purpose of extirpating the goats. Accordingly, great ravages were committed among them, but enough still remained to preserve the breed.

Towards the year 1766 or 1767, the Spaniards established a settlement on Juan Fernandez; but little of its origin or progress was known until the year 1792, when Lieutenant John Moss of the royal navy, then commanding a South Sea whaler, landed there. Not being aware that it was inhabited, he was surprised to find a fortification erected, and a village, containing about forty houses, built in a valley. A battery of five guns commanded the road, and another of two faces, with fourteen embrasures in each, was constructing at a little distance, one face pointing to the anchorage, and the other flanking the village.

The governor of Juan Fernandez readily granted Captain Moss permission to cut wood, and, as much as possible, supplied all his wants. His own people were employed to assist, and his oxen dragged it to the water side; in return for a small present from Captain Moss, he gave him some live-stock, and abundance of vegetables. Every house had a garden, and delightful arbours of vines; various fruits were seen, and plenty of potatoes, cabbages, onions, and other things, most useful to seafaring people. Whenever Captain Moss entered a house, the women presented him with what is

called *matè*, an infusion of the herb paraguay, which is sucked up through a tube, or pipe, handed from one person to another. The women were in general handsome, and the houses swarmed with children: in one, visited by Captain Moss, was a young woman of twenty, who already had six children, and was again pregnant: their dress was singular, consisting of a petticoat, which reached only a little below the knee, and spread out very wide at the bottom by means of a hoop, so as to leave the legs entirely exposed. They wore long hair, plaited into forty or fifty braids, which hung straight down the back.

At a distance from Juan Fernandez, the whole island appears like an entire rock; but, on nearer approach, beautiful intersecting vallies are seen, covered with wood and verdure.

## ADVENTURES OF PHILIP ASHTON;-

WHO, AFTER ESCAPING FROM PIRATES, LIVED  
SIXTEEN MONTHS IN SOLITUDE ON A DESOLATE  
ISLAND, 1723.



UPON Friday the 15th of June 1722, after being out some time in a schooner with four men and a boy, off Cape Sable, I stood in for Port Rossaway, designing to lie there all Sunday. Having arrived about four in the afternoon, we saw, among other vessels which had reached the port before us, a brigantine supposed to be inward bound from the West Indies. After remaining three or four hours at anchor, a boat from the brigantine came alongside, with four hands, who leapt on deck, and suddenly drawing out pistols, and brandishing cutlasses, demanded the surrender both of ourselves and our vessel. All remonstrance was vain; nor indeed, had we known who they were before boarding us, could we have made any effectual resistance, being only five men and a boy, and were thus under the necessity of submitting at discretion. We were not single in misfortune, as thirteen or fourteen fishing-vessels were in like manner surprised the same evening.

When carried on board the brigantine, I found myself in the hands of Ned Low, an infamous pi-

rate, whose vessel had two great guns, four swivels, and about forty-two men. I was strongly urged to sign the articles of agreement among the pirates, and to join their number, which I steadily refused, and suffered much bad usage in consequence. At length being conducted, along with five of the prisoners, to the quarter-deck, Low came up to us with pistols in his hand, and loudly demanded, "Are any of you married men?" This unexpected question, added to the sight of the pistols, struck us all speechless; we were alarmed lest there was some secret meaning in his words, and that he would proceed to extremities, therefore none could reply. In a violent passion he cocked a pistol, and clapping it to my head, cried out, "You dog, why don't you answer?" swearing vehemently at the same time that he would shoot me through the head. I was sufficiently terrified by his threats and fierceness, but rather than lose my life in so trifling a matter, I ventured to pronounce, as loud as I durst speak, that I was not married. Hereupon he seemed to be somewhat pacified, and turned away.

It appeared that Low was resolved to take no married men whatever, which often seemed surprising to me, until I had been a considerable time with him. But his own wife had died lately before he became a pirate; and he had a young child at Boston, for whom he entertained such tenderness, on every lucid interval from drinking and revelling, that, on mentioning it, I have seen him sit down and weep plentifully. Thus I concluded, that his reason for taking only single men, was probably, that they might have no ties, such as wives and children, to divert them from his service, and render them desirous of returning home.



The pirates finding force of no avail in compelling us to join them, began to use persuasion instead of it. They tried to flatter me into compliance, by setting before me the share I should have in their spoils, and the riches which I should become master of; and all the time eagerly importuned me to drink along with them. But I still continued to resist their proposals, whereupon Low, with equal fury as before, threatened to shoot me through the head; and though I earnestly entreated my release, he and his people wrote my name, and that of my companions, in their books.

On the 19th of June, the pirates changed the privateer, as they called their vessel, and went into a new schooner belonging to Marblehead, which they had captured. They then put all the prisoners, whom they designed sending home, on board of the brigantine, and sent her to Boston, which induced me to make another unsuccessful attempt for liberty; but though I fell on my knees to Low, he refused to let me go: thus I saw the brigantine depart, with the whole captives, excepting myself and seven more.

Very short time before she departed, I had nearly effected my escape; for a dog belonging to Low being accidentally left on shore, he ordered some hands into a boat to bring it off. Thereupon two young men, captives, both belonging to Marblehead, readily leapt into the boat, and I considering, that if I could once get on shore, means might be found of effecting my escape, endeavoured to go along with them. But the quarter-master, called Russel, catching hold of my shoulder, drew me back. As the young men did not return, he thought I was privy to their plot, and, with the most outrageous oaths, snapped his pistol, on my

denying all knowledge of it. The pistol missing fire, however, only served to enrage him the more: he snapped it three times again, and as often it missed fire; on which he held it overboard, and then it went off. Russel on this drew his cutlass, and was about to attack me in the utmost fury, when I leapt down into the hold and saved myself.

Off St Michael's the pirates took a large Portuguese pink, laden with wheat, coming out of the road; and being a good sailer, and carrying 14 guns, transferred their company into her. It afterwards became necessary to careen her, whence they made three islands, called the Triangles, lying about 40 leagues to the eastward of Surinam.

In heaving down the pink, Low had ordered so many men to the shrouds and yards, that the ports, by her heeling, got under water, and the sea rushing in, she overset: he and the doctor were then in the cabin, and as soon as he observed the water gushing in, he leaped out of one of the stern ports, while the doctor attempted to follow him. But the violence of the sea repulsed the latter, and he was forced back into the cabin. Low, however, contrived to thrust his arm into the port, and dragging him out, saved his life. Meanwhile, the vessel completely overset. Her keel turned out of the water; but as the hull filled, she sunk, in the depth of about six fathoms.

The yard-arms striking the ground, forced the masts somewhat above the water; as the ship overset, the people got from the shrouds and yards, upon the hull, and as the hull went down, they again resorted to the rigging, rising a little out of the sea.

Being an indifferent swimmer, I was reduced to great extremity; for, along with other light lads,

I had been sent up to the main-top-gallant yard ; and the people of a boat, who were now occupied in preserving the men, refusing to take me in, I was compelled to attempt reaching the buoy. This I luckily accomplished, and as it was large, secured myself there until the boat approached. I once more requested the people to take me in, but they still refused, as the boat was full. I was uncertain whether they designed leaving me to perish in this situation; however, the boat being deeply laden, made way very slowly, and one of my own comrades, captured at the same time with myself, calling to me to forsake the buoy and swim towards her, I assented, and reaching the boat, he drew me on board. Two men, John Bell, and Zana Gourdon, were lost in the pink.

Though the schooner in company was very near at hand, her people were employed mending their sails under an awning, and knew nothing of the accident until the boat, full of men, got alongside.

The pirates having thus lost their principal vessel, and the greatest part of their provisions and water, were reduced to great extremities for want of the latter. They were unable to get a supply at the Triangles, nor, on account of calms and currents, could they make the island of Tobago. Thus they were forced to stand for Grenada, which they reached, after being on short allowance for sixteen days together.

Grenada was a French settlement, and Low, on arriving, after having sent all his men, except a sufficient number to manœuvre the vessel, below, said he was from Barbadoes; that he had lost the water on board, and was obliged to put in here for a supply.

The people entertained no suspicion of his being



a pirate, but afterwards supposing him a smuggler, thought it a good opportunity to make a prize of his vessel. Next day, therefore, they equipped a large sloop of 70 tons, and four guns, with about 30 hands, as sufficient for the capture, and came alongside, while Low was quite unsuspecting of their design. But this being evidently betrayed by their number and actions, he quickly called 90 men on deck, and, having 8 guns mounted, the French sloop became an easy prey.

• Provided with these two vessels, the pirates cruised about in the West Indies, taking seven or eight prizes, and at length arrived at the island of Santa Cruz, where they captured two more. While lying there, Low thought he stood in need of a medicine chest, and, in order to procure one, sent four Frenchmen, in a ship he had taken, to St Thomas's, about twelve leagues distant, with money to purchase it; promising them liberty, and the return of all their vessels, for the service. But he declared at the same time, if it proved otherwise, he would kill the rest of the men, and burn the vessels. In little more than twenty-four hours, the Frenchmen returned with the object of their mission, and Low punctually performed his promise by restoring the vessels.

Having sailed for the Spanish American settlements, the pirates descried two large ships, about half way between Carthagená and Portobello, which proved to be the Mermaid, an English man-of-war, and a Guineaman. They approached in chase until discovering the man-of-war's great range of teeth, when they immediately put about, and made the best of their way off. The man-of-war then commenced the pursuit, and gained upon them apace, and I confess that my terrors were



now equal to any that I had previously suffered ; for I concluded that we should certainly be taken, and that I should no less certainly be hanged for company's sake ; so true are the words of Solomon, " A companion of fools shall be destroyed." But the two pirate vessels finding themselves outsailed, separated, and Farrington Spriggs, who commanded the schooner in which I was, stood in for the shore. The Mermaid observing the sloop with Low himself to be the larger of the two, crowded all sail, and continued gaining still more, indeed until her shot flew over ; but one of the sloop's crew shewed Low a shoal, which he could pass, and in the pursuit the man-of-war grounded. Thus the pirates escaped hanging on this occasion.

Spriggs and one of his chosen companions dreading the consequences of being captured and brought to justice, laid their pistols beside them in the interval, and pledging a mutual oath in a bumper of liquor, swore, if they saw no possibility of escape, to set foot to foot, and blow out each other's brains. But standing towards the shore, they made Pickeroon Bay, and escaped the danger.

Next we repaired to a small island called Utilila, about seven or eight leagues to leeward of the island of Roatan, in the Bay of Honduras, where the bottom of the schooner was cleaned. There were now twenty-two persons on board, and eight of us engaged in a plot to overpower our masters, and make our escape. Spriggs proposed sailing for New England, in quest of provisions, and to increase his company ; and we intended on approaching the coast, when the rest had indulged freely in liquor, and fallen sound asleep, to secure

them under the hatches, and then deliver ourselves up to government.

Although our plot was carried on with all possible privacy, Spriggs had somehow or other got intelligence of it; and having fallen in with Low on the voyage, went on board his ship to make a furious declaration against us. But Low made little account of his information, otherwise it might have been fatal to most of our number. Spriggs, however, returned raging to the schooner, exclaiming, that four of us should go forward to be shot, and to me in particular he said, "You dog Ashton, you deserve to be hanged up at the yard-arm for designing to cut us off." I replied, "that I had no intention of injuring any man on board; but I should be glad if they would allow me to go away quietly." At length this flame was quenched, and, through the goodness of God, I escaped destruction.

Roatan harbour, as all about the Bay of Honduras, is full of small islands, which pass under the general name of *Keys*; and having got in here, Low, with some of his chief men, landed on a small island, which they called *Port Royal Key*. There they erected huts, and continued carousing, drinking, and firing, while the different vessels, of which they now had possession, were repairing.

On Saturday the 9th of March 1723, the cooper, with six hands, in the long-boat, was going ashore for water; and coming alongside of the schooner, I requested to be of the party. Seeing him hesitate, I urged that I had never hitherto been ashore, and thought it hard to be so closely confined, when every one besides had the liberty of landing as there was occasion. Low had be-

fore told me, on requesting to be sent away in some of the captured vessels which he dismissed, that I should go home when he did, and swore that I should never previously set my foot on land. But now, I considered, if I could, possibly once get on terra firma, though in ever such bad circumstances, I should account it a happy deliverance, and resolved never to embark again.

The cooper at length took me into the long boat, while Low, and his chief people, were on a different island from Roatan, where the watering place lay; my only clothing was an Osnaburgh frock and trowsers, a milled cap, but neither shirt, shoes, stockings, nor any thing else.

When we first landed, I was very active in assisting to get the casks out of the boat, and in rolling them to the watering-place. Then taking a hearty draught of water, I strolled along the beach, picking up stones and shells; but on reaching the distance of musket-shot from the party, I began to withdraw towards the skirts of the woods. In answer to a question by the cooper of whither I was going? I replied, "for cocoa-nuts, as some cocoa-trees were just before me;" and as soon as I was out of sight of my companions, I took to my heels, running as fast as the thickness of the bushes and my naked feet would admit. Notwithstanding I had got a considerable way into the woods, I was still so near as to hear the voices of the party if they spoke loud, and I lay close in a thicket where I knew they could not find me.

After my comrades had filled their casks, and were about to depart, the cooper called on me to accompany them; however, I lay snug in the thicket, and gave him no answer, though his words

were plain enough. At length, after hallooing loudly, I could hear them say to one another, "The dog is lost in the woods, and cannot find the way out again;" then they halloosed once more, and cried "he has run away and wont come to us;" and the cooper observed, that, had he known my intention, he would not have brought me ashore. Satisfied of their inability to find me among the trees and bushes, the cooper at last, to shew his kindness, exclaimed, "If you do not come away presently, I shall go off and leave you alone." Nothing, however, could induce me to discover myself; and my comrades seeing it vain to wait any longer, put off without me.

Thus I was left on a desolate island, destitute of all help, and remote from the track of navigators; but compared with the state and society I had quitted, I considered the wilderness hospitable, and the solitude interesting.

When I thought the whole were gone, I emerged from my thicket, and came down to a small run of water, about a mile from the place where our casks were filled, and there sat down to observe the proceedings of the pirates. To my great joy, in five days their vessels sailed, and I saw the schooner part from them to shape a different course.

I then began to reflect on myself and my present condition: I was on an island which I had no means of leaving; I knew of no human being within many miles; my clothing was scanty, and it was impossible to procure a supply. I was altogether destitute of provision, nor could tell how my life was to be supported. This melancholy prospect drew a copious flood of tears from my eyes; but as it had pleased God to grant my wishes



in being liberated from those whose occupation was devising mischief against their neighbours, I resolved to account every hardship light. Yet Low would never suffer his men to work on the Sabbath, which was more devoted to play ; and I have even seen some of them sit down to read in a good book.

In order to ascertain how I was to live in time to come, I began to range over the island, which proved ten or eleven leagues long, and lay in about  $16^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. But I soon found that my only companions would be the beasts of the earth, and fowls of the air ; for there were no indications of any habitations on the island, though every now and then I found some shreds of earthen ware scattered in a lime walk, said by some to be the remains of Indians formerly dwelling here.

The island was well watered, full of high hills and deep vallies. Numerous fruit trees, such as figs, vines, and cocoa-nuts are found in the latter ; and I found a kind larger than an orange, oval-shaped, of a brownish colour without, and red within. Though many of these had fallen under the trees, I could not venture to take them, until I saw the wild hogs feeding with safety, and then I found them very delicious fruit.

Store of provisions abounded here, though I could avail myself of nothing but the fruit ; for I had no knife or iron implement, either to cut up a tortoise on turning it, or weapons wherewith to kill animals ; nor had I any means of making a fire to cook my capture, even if I were successful.

Sometimes I entertained thoughts of digging pits, and covering them over with small branches

of trees, for the purpose of taking hogs or deer ; but I wanted a shovel and every substitute for the purpose, and I was soon convinced that my hands were insufficient to make a cavity deep enough to retain what should fall into it. Thus I was forced to rest satisfied with fruit, which was to be esteemed very good provision for any one in my condition.

In process of time, while poking among the sand with a stick, in quest of tortoise eggs, which I had heard were laid in the sand, part of one came up adhering to it ; and, on removing the sand, I found nearly an hundred and fifty, which had not lain long enough to spoil. Therefore, taking some, I ate them, and strung others on a strip of palmeto, which being hung up in the sun, became thick and somewhat hard ; so that they were more palatable. After all, they were not very savoury food, though one, who had nothing but what fell from the trees, behoved to be content. Tortoises lay their eggs in the sand, in holes about a foot or a foot and a half deep, and smooth the surface over them, so that there is no discovering where they lie. According to the best of my observation, the young are hatched in eighteen or twenty days, and then immediately take to the water.

Many serpents are on this and the adjacent islands ; one, about twelve or fourteen feet long, is as large as a man's waist, but not poisonous. When lying at length, they look like old trunks of trees, covered with short moss, though they more usually assume a circular position. The first time I saw one of these serpents, I had approached very near before discovering it to be a living creature ; it opened its mouth wide enough to have re-

ceived a hat, and breathed on me. A small black fly creates such annoyance, that even if a person possessed ever so many comforts, his life would be oppressive to him, unless for the possibility of retiring to some small quay, destitute of wood and bushes, where multitudes are dispersed by the wind.

To this place then was I confined during nine months, without seeing a human being. One day after another was lingered out, I know not how, void of occupation or amusement, except collecting food, rambling from hill to hill, and from island to island, and gazing on sky and water. Although my mind was occupied by many regrets, I had the reflection that I was lawfully employed when taken, so that I had no hand in bringing misery on myself; I was also comforted to think that I had the approbation and consent of my parents in going to sea, and I trusted that it would please God, in his own time and manner, to provide for my return to my father's house. Therefore, I resolved to submit patiently to my misfortune.

It was my daily practice to ramble from one part of the island to another, though I had a more special home near the water-side. Here I built a hut to defend me against the heat of the sun by day, and the heavy dews by night. Taking some of the best branches which I could find fallen from the trees, I contrived to fix them against a low hanging bough, by fastening them together with split palmeto leaves; next I covered the whole with some of the largest and most suitable leaves that I could get. Many of those huts were constructed by me, generally near the beach, with the open part fronting the sea, to have the better

look out, and the advantage of the sea-breeze, which both the heat and the vermin required.

But the insects were so troublesome, that I thought of endeavouring to get over to some of the adjacent keys, in hopes of enjoying rest. However, I was, as already said, a very indifferent swimmer; I had no canoe, nor any means of making one. At length, having got a piece of bamboo, which is hollow like a reed, and light as cork, I ventured, after frequent trials with it under my breast and arms, to put off for a small key about a gun-shot distant, which I reached in safety.

My new place of refuge was only about three or four hundred feet in circuit, lying very low, and clear of woods and brush; from exposure to the wind, it was quite free of vermin, and I seemed to have got into a new world, where I lived infinitely more at ease. Hither I retired, therefore, when the heat of the day rendered the insect tribe most obnoxious; yet I was obliged to be much on Roatan, to procure food and water, and at night on account of my hut.

When swimming back and forward between the two islands, I used to bind my frock and trowsers about my head, and, if I could have carried over wood and leaves, whereof to make a hut, with equal facility, I should have passed more of my time on the smaller one.

Yet these excursions were not unattended with danger. Once, I remember, when passing from the larger island, the bamboo, before I was aware, slipped from under me; and the tide, or current, set down so strong, that it was with great difficulty I could reach the shore. At another time, when swimming over to the small island, a shovel-nosed shark, which, as well as alligators, abound in those



seas, struck me in the thigh, just as my foot could reach the bottom, and grounded itself, from the shallowness of the water, as I suppose, so that its mouth could not get round towards me. The blow I felt some hours after making the shore. By repeated practice, I at length became a pretty dexterous swimmer, and amused myself by passing from one island to another, among the keys.

I suffered very much from being barefoot; so many deep wounds were made in my feet from traversing the woods, where the ground was covered with sticks and stones, and on the hot beach, over sharp broken shells, that I was scarce able to walk at all. Often, when treading with all possible caution, a stone or shell on the beach, or a pointed stick in the woods, would penetrate the old wound, and the extreme anguish would strike me down as suddenly as if I had been shot. Then I would remain, for hours together, with tears gushing from my eyes, from the acuteness of the pain. I could travel no more than absolute necessity compelled me, in quest of subsistence: and I have sat, my back leaning against a tree, looking out for a vessel during a complete day.

Once, while faint from such injuries, as well as smarting under the pain of them, a wild boar rushed towards me. I knew not what to do, for I had not strength to resist his attack; therefore, as he drew nearer, I caught the bough of a tree, and half suspended myself by means of it. The boar tore away part of my ragged trowsers with his tusks, and then left me. This, I think, was the only time that I was attacked by any wild beast, and I considered myself to have had a very great deliverance.

As my weakness continued to increase, I often fell to the ground insensible, and then, as also when I laid myself to sleep, I thought I should never awake again, or rise in life. Under this affliction I first lost count of the days of the week: I could not distinguish Sunday, and, as my illness became more aggravated, I became ignorant of the month also.

All this time I had no healing balsam for my feet, nor any cordial to revive my drooping spirits. My utmost efforts could only now and then procure some figs and grapes. Neither had I fire; for, though I had heard of a way to procure it by rubbing two sticks together, my attempts in this respect, continued until I was tired, proved abortive. The rains having come on, attended with chill winds, I suffered exceedingly.

While passing nine months in this lonely, melancholy, and irksome condition, my thoughts would sometimes wander to my parents; and I reflected, that, notwithstanding it would be consolatory to myself if they knew where I was, it might be distressing to them. The nearer my prospect of death, which I often expected, the greater my penitence became.

Sometime in November 1723, I descried a small canoe approaching with a single man; but the sight excited little emotion. I kept my seat on the beach, thinking I could not expect a friend, and knowing that I had no enemy to fear, nor was I capable of resisting one. As the man approached, he betrayed many signs of surprise; he called me to him, and I told him he might safely venture ashore, for I was alone, and almost expiring. Coming close up, he knew not what to make of me; my garb and countenance seemed so singu-

lar, that he looked wild with astonishment. He started back a little, and surveyed me more thoroughly ; but, recovering himself again came forward, and, taking me by the hand, expressed his satisfaction at seeing me.

This stranger proved to be a native of North Britain; he was well advanced in years, of a grave and venerable aspect, and of a reserved temper. His name I never knew, he did not disclose it, and I had not inquired during the period of our acquaintance. But he informed me he had lived twenty-two years with the Spaniards, who now threatened to burn him, though I know not for what crime ; therefore he had fled hither as a sanctuary, bringing his dog, gun, and ammunition, as also a small quantity of pork, along with him. He designed spending the remainder of his days on the island, where he could support himself by hunting.

I experienced much kindness from the stranger; he was always ready to perform any civil offices, and assist me in whatever he could, though he spoke little : and he gave me a share of his pork.

On the third day after his arrival, he said he would make an excursion in his canoe among the neighbouring islands, for the purpose of killing wild-hogs and deer, and wished me to accompany him. Though my spirits were somewhat recruited by his society, the benefit of the fire, which I now enjoyed, and dressed provisions, my weakness, and the soreness of my feet, precluded me ; therefore he set out alone, saying he would return in a few hours. The sky was serene, and there was no prospect of any danger during a short excursion, seeing he had come nearly twelve leagues in safety in his canoe. But, when he had been absent

about an hour, a violent gust of wind and rain arose, in which he probably perished, as I never heard of him more.

Thus, after having the pleasure of a companion almost three days, I was as unexpectedly reduced to my former lonely state, as I had been relieved from it. Yet, through God's goodness, I was myself preserved from having been unable to accompany him: and I was left in better circumstances than those in which he had found me; for now I had about five pounds of pork, a knife, a bottle of gunpowder, tobacco, tongs, and flint, by which means my life could be rendered more comfortable. I was enabled to have fire, extremely requisite at this time, being the rainy months of winter: I could cut up a tortoise, and have a delicate broiled meal. Thus, by the help of the fire, and dressed provisions, through the blessing of God, I began to recover strength, though the soreness of my feet remained. But I had, besides, the advantage of being able now and then to catch a dish of cray-fish, which, when roasted, proved good eating. To accomplish this I made up a small bundle of old broken sticks, nearly resembling pitch-pine, or candle-wood; and having lighted one end, waded with it in my hand, up to the waist in water. The cray-fish, attracted by the light, would crawl to my feet, and lie directly under it; when, by means of a forked stick, I could toss them ashore.

Between two and three months after the time of losing my companion, I found a small canoe, while ranging along the shore. The sight of it revived my regret for his loss, for I judged that it had been his canoe; and, from being washed up here, a certain proof of his having been lost in the tempest. But, on examining it more narrowly, I satisfied



myself, that it was one which I had never seen before.

Master of this little vessel, I began to think myself admiral of the neighbouring seas, as well as sole possessor and chief commander of the islands. Profiting by its use, I could transport myself to the places of retreat more conveniently than by my former expedient of swimming.

In process of time, I projected an excursion to some of the larger and more distant islands, partly to learn how they were stored or inhabited, and partly for the sake of amusement. Laying in a small stock of figs and grapes, therefore, as also some tortoise to eat, and carrying my implements for fire, I put off to steer for the island of Bonacco, which is about four or five leagues long, and situated five or six from Roatan.

In the course of the voyage, observing a sloop at the east end of the island, I made the best of my way to the west, designing to travel down by land, both because a point of rocks ran far into the sea, beyond which I did not care to venture in the canoe, as was necessary to come a-head of the sloop, and because I wished to ascertain something concerning her people before I was discovered. Even in my worst circumstances, I never could brook the thoughts of returning on board of any piratical vessel, and resolved rather to live and die in my present situation. Hauling up the canoe, and making it fast as well as I was able, I set out on the journey. My feet were yet in such a state, that two days, and the best part of two nights, were occupied in it. Sometimes the woods and bushes were so thick that it was necessary to crawl half a mile together on my hands and knees, which rendered my progress very slow.

When within a mile or two of the place where I supposed the sloop might lie, I made for the water side, and approached the sea gradually, that I might not too soon disclose myself to view; however, on reaching the beach, there was no appearance of the sloop, whence I judged that she had sailed during the time spent by me in travelling.

Being much fatigued with the journey, I rested myself against the stump of a tree, with my face towards the sea, where sleep overpowered me. But I had not slumbered long before I was suddenly awakened by the noise of firing. Starting up in affright, I saw nine periaguas, or large canoes, full of men, firing upon me from the sea; whence I soon turned about, and run among the bushes as fast as my sore feet would allow, while the men, who were Spaniards, cried after me, "O Englishman, we will give you good quarter." However, my astonishment was so great, and I was so suddenly roused from sleep, that I had no self-command to listen to their offers of quarter, which, it may be, at another time, in my cooler moments, I might have done. Thus I made into the woods, and the strangers continued firing after me, to the number of 150 bullets at least, many of which cut small twigs off the bushes close by my side. Having gained an extensive thicket beyond reach of the shot, I lay close several hours, until observing, by the sound of their oars, that the Spaniards were departing, I crept out. I saw the sloop under English colours sailing away with the canoes in tow, which induced me to suppose she was an English vessel, which had been at the Bay of Honduras, and taken there by the Spaniards.

Next day I returned to the tree, where I had been so nearly surprised, and was astonished to find six or seven shot in the trunk, within a foot or less of my head. Yet through the wonderful goodness of God, though having been as a mark to shoot at, I was preserved.

After this I travelled to recover my canoe at the western end of the island, which I reached in three days, but suffering severely from the soreness of my feet, and the scantiness of provision. This island is not so plentifully stored as Roatan, so that during the five or six days of my residence, I had difficulty in procuring subsistence; and the insects were, besides, infinitely more numerous and harassing than at my old habitation. These circumstances deterred me from further exploring the island; and having reached the canoe very tired and exhausted, I put off for Roatan, which was a royal palace to me, compared with Bonacco, and arrived at night in safety.

Here I lived, if it may be called living, alone for about seven months, after losing my North British companion. My time was spent in the usual manner, hunting for food, and ranging among the islands.

Some time in June 1724, while on the small quay, whither I often retreated to be free from the annoyance of insects, I saw two canoes making for the harbour. Approaching nearer, they observed the smoke of a fire which I had kindled, and at a loss to know what it meant, they hesitated on advancing. What I had experienced at Bonacco, was still fresh in my own memory, and loth to run the risk of such another firing, I withdrew to my canoe, lying behind the quay, not above 100 yards distant, and immediately rowed

over to Roatan. There I had places of safety against an enemy, and sufficient accommodation for any ordinary number of friends.

The people in the canoes observed me cross the sea to Roatan, the passage not exceeding a gunshot over; and being as much afraid of pirates as I was of Spaniards, approached very cautiously towards the shore. I then came down to the beach, shewing myself openly; for their conduct led me to think that they could not be pirates, and I resolved before being exposed to the danger of their shot, to inquire who they were. If they proved such as I did not like, I could easily retire. But before I spoke, they, as full of apprehension as I could be, lay on their oars, and demanded who I was, and from whence I came? to which I replied, "that I was an Englishman, and had run away from pirates." On this they drew somewhat nearer, inquiring who was there besides myself? when I assured them, in return, that I was alone. Next, according to my original purpose, having put similar questions to them, they said they had come from the Bay of Honduras; their words encouraged me to bid them row ashore, which they did accordingly, though at some distance; and one man landed, whom I advanced to meet. But he started back at the sight of a poor ragged, wild, forlorn, miserable object so near him. Collecting himself, however, he took me by the hand, and we began embracing each other, he from surprise and wonder, and I from a sort of ecstasy of joy. When this was over, he took me in his arms, and carried me down to the canoes, where all his comrades were struck with astonishment at my appearance; but they gladly received me, and I experienced great tenderness from them.



I gave the strangers a brief account of my escape from Low, and my lonely residence for sixteen months, all excepting three days, the hardships I had suffered, and the dangers to which I had been exposed. They stood amazed at the recital; they wondered I was alive, and expressed much satisfaction at being able to relieve me. Observing me very weak and depressed, they gave me about a spoonful of rum to recruit my floating spirits; but even this small quantity, from my long disuse of strong liquors, threw me into violent agitation, and produced a kind of stupor, which at last ended in privation of sense. Some of the party perceiving a state of insensibility come on, would have administered more rum, which those better skilled among them prevented, and after lying a short time in a fit, I revived.

Then I ascertained, that the strangers were eighteen in number, the chief of them named John Hope, an old man, called Father Hope, by his companions, and John Ford, and all belonging to the Bay of Honduras. The cause of their coming hither, was an alarm for an attack from the sea, by the Spaniards, while the Indians should make a descent by land, and cut off the Bay: thus they had fled for safety. On a former occasion, the two persons above named, had, for the like reason, taken shelter among these islands, and lived four years at a time on a small one, named Barbarat, about two leagues from Roatan. There they had two plantations, as they called them; and now they brought two barrels of flour, with other provisions, fire-arms, dogs for hunting, and nets for tortoises; and also an Indian woman to dress their provisions. Their principal residence was a small key, about a quarter of a mile round, lying near to

Barbarat, and named by them the *Castle of Comfort*, chiefly because it was low and clear of woods and bushes, so that the free circulation of the wind could drive away the pestiferous muskitoes and other insects. From hence they sent to the surrounding islands for wood, water, and materials to build two houses, such as they were, for shelter.

I now had the prospect of a much more agreeable life than what I had spent during the sixteen months past; for, besides having company, the strangers treated me with a great deal of civility in their way; they clothed me, and gave me a large wrapping gown as a defence against the nightly dews, until their houses were covered; and there was plenty of provisions. Yet after all, they were bad society; and as to their common conversation, there was little difference between them and pirates. However, it did not appear that they were now engaged in any such evil design as rendered it unlawful to join them, or be found in their company.

In process of time, and with the assistance afforded by my companions, I gathered so much strength as sometimes to be able to hunt along with them. The islands abounded with wild hogs, deer, and tortoise; and different ones were visited in quest of game. This was brought home, where, instead of being immediately consumed, it was hung up to dry in smoke, so as to be a ready supply at all times.

I now considered myself beyond the reach of danger from an enemy; for, independent of supposing that nothing could bring any one here, I was surrounded by a number of men with arms constantly in their hands. Yet, at the very time

that I thought myself most secure, I was very nearly again falling into the hands of pirates.

Six or seven months after the strangers joined me, three of them, along with myself, took a four-oared canoe, for the purpose of hunting and killing tortoise on Bonacco. During our absence the rest repaired their canoes, and prepared to go over to the Bay of Honduras, to examine how matters stood there, and bring off their remaining effects, in case it were dangerous to return. But before they had departed, we were on our voyage homewards, having a full load of pork and tortoise, as our object was successfully accomplished. While entering the mouth of the harbour, in a moonlight evening, we saw a great flash, and heard a report much louder than that of a musket, proceed from a large periagua, which we observed near the *Castle of Comfort*. This put us in extreme consternation, and we knew not what to consider; but in a minute or two we heard a volley from eighteen or twenty small arms, discharged towards the shore, and also some returned from it. Satisfied that an enemy, either Spaniards or pirates, was attacking our people, and being intercepted from them by periaguas lying between us and the shore, we thought the safest plan was trying to escape. Therefore, taking down our little mast and sail, that they might not betray us, we rowed out of the harbour as fast as possible, towards an island about a mile and a-half distant, trusting to retreat undiscovered. But the enemy having either seen us before lowering our sail, or heard the noise of the oars, followed with all speed, in an eight or ten oared periagua. Observing her approach, and fast gaining on us, we rowed with all our might to make the nearest shore.

However, she was at length enabled to discharge a swivel, the shot from which passed over our canoe: Nevertheless, we contrived to reach the shore before being completely within the range of small arms, which our pursuers discharged on us while landing.

They were now near enough to cry aloud that they were pirates, and not Spaniards, and that we need not dread them, as we should get good quarter; thence supposing that we should be the easier induced to surrender. Yet nothing could have been said to discourage me more from putting myself in their power: I had the utmost dread of a pirate; and my original aversion was now enhanced, by the apprehension of being sacrificed for my former desertion. Thus, concluding to keep as clear of them as I could, and the Honduras Bay men having no great inclination to do otherwise, we made the best of our way to the woods. Our pursuers carried off the canoe, with all its contents, resolving, if we would not go to them, to deprive us, as far as possible, of all means of subsistence where we were. But it gave me, who had known both want and solitude, little concern, now that I had company, and there were arms among us to procure provision, and also fire wherewith to dress it.

Our assailants were some men belonging to Spriggs, my former commander, who had thrown off his allegiance to Low, and set up for himself at the head of a gang of pirates, with a good ship of twenty-four guns, and a sloop of twelve, both presently lying in Roatan harbour. He had put in for fresh water, and to refit, at the place where I first escaped; and, having discovered my companions at the small island of their retreat, sent a



periagua full of men to take them. Accordingly, they carried all ashore, as also a child and an Indian woman; the last of whom they shamefully abused. *They killed a man after landing, and, throwing him into one of the canoes containing tar, set it on fire, and burnt his body in it.* Then they carried the people on board of their vessels, where they were barbarously treated. One of them turned pirate, however, and told the others, that John Hope had hid many things in the woods; therefore, they beat him unmercifully to make him disclose his treasure, which they carried off with them.

After the pirates had kept these people five days on board of their vessels, they gave them a flat of five or six tons to carry them to the Bay of Honduras, but no kind of provision for the voyage; and further, before dismissal, compelled them to swear that they would not come near me and my party, who had escaped to another island.

While the vessels rode in the harbour, we kept a good look-out, but were exposed to some difficulties, from not daring to kindle a fire to dress our victuals, lest our residence should be betrayed. Thus we lived for five days on raw provisions. As soon as they sailed, however, Hope, little regarding the oath extorted from him, came and informed us of what had passed; and I could not, for my own part, be sufficiently grateful to Providence for escaping the hands of the pirates, who would have put me to a cruel death.

Hope and all his people, except John Symonds, now resolved to make their way to the Bay. Symonds, who had a negro, wished to remain some time for the purpose of trading with the Jamaica-men on the main. But, thinking my best chance of getting to New England was from the Bay of

Honduras, I requested Hope to take me with him. The old man, though he would have gladly done so, advanced many objections, such as the *insufficiency of the flat to carry so many men seventy leagues; that they had no provision for the passage, which might be tedious, and the flat was, besides, ill calculated to stand the sea; as also, that it was uncertain how matters might turn out at the Bay: thus he thought it better for me to remain; yet, rather than I should be in solitude, he would take me in.*

Symonds, on the other hand, urged me to stay and bear him company, and gave several reasons why I should more likely obtain a passage from the Jamaica-men to New England, than by the the Bay of Honduras. As this seemed a fairer prospect of reaching my home, which I was extremely anxious to do, I assented; and, having thanked Hope and his companions for their civilities, I took leave of them, and they departed.

Symonds was provided with a canoe, fire-arms, and two dogs, in addition to his negro, by which means he felt confident of being able to provide all that was necessary for our subsistence. We spent two or three months after the usual manner, ranging from island to island; but the prevalence of the winter rains precluded us from obtaining more game than we required.

When the season for the Jamaica traders approached, Symonds proposed repairing to some other islands to obtain a quantity of tortoise-shell, which he could exchange for clothes and shoes; and, being successful in this respect, we next proceeded to Bonacco, which lies nearer the main, that we might thence take a favourable opportunity to run over.

Having been a short time at Bonacco, a furious tempest arose, and continued for three days, when we saw several vessels standing in for the harbour. The largest of them anchored at a great distance, but a brigantine came over the shoals opposite to the watering-place, and sent her boat ashore with casks. Recognizing three people who were in the boat, by their dress and appearance, for Englishmen, I concluded they were friends, and shewed myself openly on the beach before them. They ceased rowing immediately on observing me, and, after answering their inquiries of who I was, I put the same question, saying, they might come ashore with safety. They did so, and a happy meeting it was for me.

I now found that the vessels were a fleet under convoy of the Diamond man-of-war, bound for Jamaica; but many ships had parted company in the storm. The Diamond had sent in the brigantine to get water here, as the sickness of her crew had occasioned a great consumption of that necessary article.

Symonds, who had kept at a distance, lest the three men might hesitate to come ashore, at length approached to participate in my joy, though, at the same time, testifying considerable reluctance at the prospect of my leaving him. The brigantine was commanded by Captain Dove, with whom I was acquainted, and she belonged to Salem, within three miles of my father's house. Captain Dove not only treated me with great civility, and engaged to give me a passage home, but took me into pay, having lost a seaman, whose place he wanted me to supply. Next day, the Diamond having sent her long-boat ashore with casks for water, they were filled; and, after taking leave of

Symonds, who shed tears at parting, I was carried on board of the brigantine.

We sailed along with the *Diamond*, which was bound for Jamaica, in the latter end of March 1725, and kept company until the first of April. By the providence of Heaven we passed safely through the Gulf of Florida, and reached Salem Harbour on the first of May, two years, ten months, and fifteen days, after I was first taken by pirates; and two years, and nearly two months; after making my escape from them on Roatan Island. That same evening I went to my father's house, where I was received as one risen from the dead.

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Rattan, Ruatan, or, more correctly, *Roatan*, as it is called by the Spaniards, is a small island about ten or twelve leagues long, in the Bay of Honduras. It abounds in all the necessaries of life, and lies in an agreeable climate, less oppressive from heat than many of the West India islands, owing to fresh breezes prevailing, and light airs from the sea. The figs, grapes, and cocoa-nuts, are of excellent quality; and both deer and wild hogs can be easily obtained. There are different harbours on the shore, one particularly well adapted for shipping, and very capacious.

The English took possession of Roatan in the year 1742, built a fort, and appointed a governor, for the purpose of protecting the trade in that region; but not long afterwards the settlement was abandoned.



## LOSS OF THE SUSSEX EAST INDIAMAN,

NEAR THE COAST OF MADAGASCAR, 1738. BY JOHN  
DEAN.

THE ship *Sussex*, in the service of the East India Company, homeward bound from Canton in China, met with a hard gale about six in the afternoon of the 9th of March 1738, when to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. The foresail and top-sails being set, the crew immediately clewed up the latter, and handed them without reefing; but the fore-topsail split in clewing up. The wind increased about eight o'clock, when the foresail being chafed, it split, on which the ship immediately broached to, and lay down with her star-board gunnel under water. The carpenter having sounded the pump, found three feet water in the hold; the hand and chain-pumps were therefore plied: however, the water still gained upon them, so that, about ten at night, there were ten feet water in the well. The ship was then wore; the mizen-mast was cut away, but, as she wore very slowly, the crew apprehended that she would ply to again, and cut away her main-mast, on which she wore and righted very much. After this, by hard labour at the pumps, they gained on her so, that, at five in the morning, she had but two feet and a half water. Only one chain and one hand-

pump were kept going, and, at some intervals, working them was suspended. The ship had a very great sea to starboard, and all driven by the head. Two days before the gale came on, the crew had been rummaging between decks, and the ship after that heeled about a streak and a half.

On the 10th of March another foresail was bent, and the split fore-topsail unbent; but, although another was got on the quarter-deck, it was not bent, for what reason, the author of this narrative, John Dean, was ignorant. The Sussex kept company all night with the Winchester, Captain Dove, under a foresail, and only one chain and one hand-pump going; in the working of which there were some intervals.

About six in the morning the captain had a consultation with all his officers in the round-house, on what was expedient to be done, and then, coming on deck along with them, called all hands. He asked who had a mind to go on board the Winchester, and, before the men could answer, told them that the officers had consented to go, and that the carpenter had sworn that the ship was not in a condition to go round the Cape, adding these words: "I advise you all to go on board the Winchester, for, if you should stay by the ship, and meet with a hard gale going round the Cape, you'll cry, Lord have mercy on us. You'll wish you had gone on board the Winchester, and not staid by the Sussex."

Many of the people agreed to go on board the Winchester, but John Dean, the narrator, with about thirty more, told the captain that they would tarry by the ship at all hazards, to carry her safe to some port, for it was a shame to leave such a vessel. The captain then ordered the jack to be

made fast to the larboard of the fore-topsail-yard, and to fire two guns for the Winchester to come up. Dean, and the rest intending to remain, then went down to work one of the pumps. In the mean time the captain, officers, and others, who designed to leave the ship, were plundering and securing what they could, to carry along with them: and, when the captain discovered the intention of those who resolved to abide by the ship, he ordered the pinnace to be staved. John Gibbons, Daniel Israel, and another, cut the gunnel in two places, and, jumping on each end of her, broke her back, as she hung chiefly by the middle lashing.

While those who meant to stay by the ship were endeavouring to free her, the carpenter was at work in different places, especially in the gun-room, and gave reason to believe that he intended to drive out the stern-port, or play some mischief to the ship; but Edmund Cowell and others followed him close to prevent him from effecting it.

About seven the captain and supercargoes left the Sussex to go on board the Winchester, and all the rest willing to forsake her followed as fast as the boats could carry them. The captain and supercargoes went in the Winchester's pinnace; and at length only sixteen men were left behind, though, when the proposal was first made, about thirty designed to remain. They were induced to do so, from the officers saying that there was a great quantity of water lodged forward in the ship, which would render it dangerous to venture in her in case of heavy gales, or from suspecting the carpenter had secretly done her some injury. During the different trips made by the boats, even the Winchester's people were occupied in plundering

the *Sussex*, and several people got up on the fore-sail-yard, and attempted to cut the foresail from the yard; on which John Dean, Edmund Cowell, and John Morris, got into the fore-shrouds with sponge-staves, and threatened to knock them all off the yard unless they desisted, because they and others meant to stay by the ship. The men who were thus addressed, came down and went on board the *Winchester*. Williams, the chief mate, at request of the men who remained behind, gave them a letter, certifying, that the captain, officers, and rest of the crew, had left the ship of their own accord, and none others would stay with her. They were induced to do this, lest they should be seized for pirates at the first port.

When their companions had left them, the sixteen men wore the ship, set the foresail, and bore away on a southerly course for Madagascar. Two guns were then hove over the starboard side of the fore-castle to ease the ship, and a mizen-topsail bent for a fore-topsail. During these operations, the *Winchester* lay to, and turned the *Sussex's* yawl adrift; about three afternoon she made sail, and was out of sight about five.

Three of the seamen took the command of the vessel, and went two days under the sail already specified, with fine moderate weather. Then they got the long-boat's mast for a mizen-mast, and her mainsail for a mizen, and also a fore top-gallant-sail for a cross-jack. Next having searched for what clothes were left, they shared them.

In four days after parting with the *Winchester*, the *Sussex* made the Island of Madagascar, and steered for St Augustine Bay. Two days after having made the land, they anchored in sight of the bay; for it being night, they did not wish to



venture in. Next day, the third after making the land, they weighed anchor, and about noon cast anchor again in the bay. The colours were hoisted, and several guns fired to bring the natives down to the coast; and, seeing a fire ashore at night, the *Sussex* conceiving it a signal, answered with shewing a light.

In the morning, two men, one of whom could speak English, came off in a canoe, carrying a jar of honey, which they said was a present to the captain from the king of Barbar\*. The crew of the *Sussex* then employed themselves in hauling up the cables, shifting and stowing the water, and clearing away between decks, to bring the ship upright; she had at that time very little water in the well. Next day being Sunday, no work was done; prayers were said, as was usual daily. On Monday, the caulker's mate and joiner were occupied in mending the pinnace, and all the rest of the week engaged in finishing the rigging for a jury mainmast.

On Sunday, some of the crew went ashore in the pinnace, to see what inhabitants were there; however, they found only the two men who had first come on board; and one other man and woman, who were afraid to come on board, until hearing that they were Englishmen. Next day, on sending ashore again, they found that four of the king's chief men had come down, who, at the time of the pinnace's departure, came off and staid all night in the *Sussex*. From them, the crew

\* The real orthography of such places is yet but imperfectly understood. In other narratives, we read of the king of Baba; and in some works, it is said, that Baba merely signifies the north part of the island, with which we are still very little acquainted. There are many obscure passages here.

learned that the king was just returned from war, and was coming with his army to Jubar. The interpreter told the seaman who personated the captain, that the king wished to see him at Jubar, whither he went, and was well received. The king inquired how many hands were on board, to which he replied, thirty; the king shewed him a Frenchman and a Portuguese, and offered to let them go along with him, but they did not come off at that time. After staying two days at the king's habitation, he returned on board, where there was brought a plentiful supply of provisions.

Two days afterwards the king came on board, bringing the Frenchman and Portuguese. He was received, and treated according to the best of the crew's abilities. Having observed but few hands, he asked where the rest were, and was told that they were sick below; so a trade was then begun in China-ware for provisions.

The natives, however, from seeing so few people on board, began to be very insolent and troublesome, insomuch, that it was necessary to keep an armed sentry on each gangway to prevent them from coming on board, which they were extremely eager to do.

One hand was employed in making a main-top-sail, and the rest in getting out the stump of the mainmast, which was hove overboard. A jury mainmast was stepped and rigged; and a main-topmast was made of a sprung main-topsail-yard, and the ship rigged.

Six slaves were purchased for three barrels of gunpowder; they were set to work during the day, and at night secured in irons. The doctor's gun was given to the king, and a jar of arrack, for which he returned two goats.

The king then came on board with ten wives, each of whom was presented with a China bowl, and every one of them returned a goat.

The *Sussex* was now in good trim for sea, her bottom had been scrubbed, and tarred as low as possible, and her sides tarred. The sails were bent, and that part of the quarter gallery stove in by the mizenmast when cut away, repaired. On searching whether there was any leak or strain, about a pound of loose gunpowder was found in the starboard quarter gallery, which impressed the crew with an idea, that it had been laid there with an evil intent.

As the natives still proved extremely troublesome, endeavouring to get on board the ship, and even throwing lances into her, it was to be dreaded that they harboured the design of cutting off the crew, on obtaining a fit opportunity. Therefore, to ensure the safety of their own lives, as well as the ship and cargo, they determined to repair to Mozambique, and stay there until a proper season for attempting to go round the Cape, being in hopes to get assistance, on sending to Johanna. Thus a letter was subscribed by the whole, and left with the king of Barbar, to be delivered to any European ship, expressing their intentions, for the purpose of preserving the ship and cargo; and then having weighed anchor, they stood out to sea for Mozambique. They had remained in St Augustine Bay above three weeks, and now had fine weather. On the second day only sixteen inches were found on sounding the well, and the ship immediately pumped dry.

The Frenchman and Portuguese, already mentioned, having been taken on board, the latter, previous to the *Sussex* sailing, was turned ashore, because he had often quarrelled with the Frenchman.

The sky overcast in the evening, and about ten at night, the ship unfortunately struck, and lost her rudder the second shock, when she stuck fast. The crew finding she was aground, and that there was no possibility of saving her, cleared the long-boat in order to hoist it out. But the boat being stove before, wanted repair; and as they had so few hands, and the sea breaking in much, they could not venture to do so. Therefore, they hoisted the pinnace off the booms, and let her hang in the tackle all night alongside. Next they got the *waggoner*\*, and found they were on the Bassas de India; although, by an observation made at noon, they were to the northward of where it is laid down in the chart, which error deceived them; for considering themselves to the northward, they judged that they were out of danger. The crew next put a compass, a waggoner, some arms and powder, into the pinnace, and also some carpenter's tools, and then went to prayers all that night. A heavy sea continued to break on the after-part of the ship, which soon stove in all abaft, so that the quarter deck fell into the steerage. At six in the morning, having resolved to lower the pinnace, nine men got into her; but the rest determined to take their chance in the ship, thinking there was no prospect of saving their lives in the pinnace, because the sea ran so high. In lowering the pinnace, the falls being reefed through the ring, the after-tackle got foul, just as she took the water, so that they could only get the fore-tackle unhooked. In sending her off the ship, Dean got his hand bruised. There was still a great sea run-

\* Said to be an Atlas, and probably so called from *Wagenaar*.



ning, whence the pinnacle parted on being struck with the second wave, and eight men were washed out ; one of them had been washed over by the first wave, but he got safe on board. Three were drowned, however ; the other five, after swimming some time, were drove into shoal water. •

The fore part of the pinnacle being afterwards observed floating, one of the men swam to it, and called on the rest, who all followed. A flask being also observed afloat, another secured it, and found it about half-full of arrack. They then got whatever boards they could reach floating from the wreck, and lashed them across the boat, to make her swim more buoyant ; about noon, they saw the ship part, and at night drove into shoal water, and where the bottom dried. They made fast their half boat, and two of them being ill of fevers, the rest gathered together what came near them from the wreck, and building a stern, chined it with oakum which they made out of the pinnacle's pentter ; although they had only two small knives, and the ring-bolt which they drew out of her to work with.

On the second night they saw a fire, and in the morning, some of the fore-top of the wreck, which they endeavoured to reach, but were prevented by the current ; so they put back again, and in their way found a piece of pork. On regaining the place where the boat was fitted, they took in a butt, partly filled with water, some having before been started to lighten it. The third day after leaving the ship, they put to sea, and were seventeen days before getting ashore on Madagascar. All that time, they had nothing to subsist on but one piece of pork, the water in the butt, and three small crabs, which they found afloat at sea. During their voyage, they always went to prayers

twice a-day, and returned thanks to God for their miraculous deliverance and preservation, after such imminent danger.

Four Englishmen, whose names were James Holland, Stephen Wicks, William Eadnell, and John Dean, went a little way up into the woods, and lay there that night; the fifth of their number, who was the Frenchman already mentioned, taken on board in St Augustine's Bay, staid behind, because he durst not accompany them to Jubar, where they designed to go to the king of Barbar.

In the morning, they swam over a river which they supposed the Jubar river, and after travelling about a mile to the northward, met the Frenchman, and soon came in sight of another large river, and many huts, which they took to be Youngoult, and therefore made up to them; but they found no inhabitants; so they returned half way back, where they found wild beans. There they sat down, and having ate some of them, slept in the same place all night.

Next morning, the Frenchman went away. John Dean and Stephen Wicks then left their companions, and travelled ten miles up the river, in search of some inhabited spot, or of people to assist them; for the other two were very ill, and unable to travel. After a fruitless journey, they returned at night, when, to their great sorrow, they found both their companions speechless. In the morning one could speak, who desired them to go in search of water, as they were almost dead with thirst. They went, but could find none. Then their two companions desired them to go and seek for inhabitants, but besought them, before departing, for some of their own urine to quench

their thirst. This being given, they took leave of them, and began their journey.

In six days after they landed, the travellers met with several black men, who used them very civilly. They were better off in another respect, having found water on the second day; and a little before meeting the black men, they came up with the Frenchman again, picking plumbs in the woods. Having returned about a mile, the black men made a fire, and dressed some beef, part of which was given them to eat; and after refreshing themselves they set out again. The head man then observing them much exhausted and sore with travelling, ordered them to be carried. Journeying to the northward, they in two days met their companions, who were much mended; for during their absence they had found fresh water.

The whole then travelled to the southward with the natives, who took great care of them, providing plantains and whatever other food could be got. Further, being much lacerated in travelling through the woods, their wounds were dressed. The beef was now finished, but in three weeks they fell in with other two parties, in one of which was a black, who could talk a little English; and to shew his respect for the Englishmen, presented them with a cow.

The Frenchman proved extremely troublesome, often picking quarrels, especially with James Holland; and he told the natives that the sailors were four Dutchmen, thinking if credited they should not be so well treated as before; but his object did not succeed. He was induced to this, by the natives shewing more respect towards them than to him.

After about three weeks more, the party arrived

at a town, where their principal conductor carried them to the chief man, with whom they remained nearly a week. Their conductor would have left them there, but he refused to take them under his care. They were then carried to another town, to a native named Cohary, who also refused; on which their conductor led them to a third town to a native, Rameover, who received them. There they remained two months, but met only with indifferent usage; for their first friend had gone to Renauf, king of Sacclaver. The journey, until their arrival here, had occupied about eight weeks; but now disliking their treatment, and their friend being still absent with the king, they agreed to travel in search of the king's town called Moharbo. Therefore all four stole out by night, and made the best of their way, lest they should be followed; and in the morning reached the sea coast, at a part where there was a wide river. The Frenchman had left them two days after their black friend departed. William Eadnell and Stephen Wicks swam across the river, but Holland and Dean would not venture; therefore wishing their comrades success, they returned to Rameover's, where they found better treatment. The others returned in a week, when they all experienced worse treatment than ever, which they ascribed to the natives discovering that they could not help themselves.

In about a fortnight afterwards, the black returned from the king, and told the seamen that they should set out next day to wait on the king; but, to their great regret, he then went away, and took no further notice of them. Thus they resolved to depart themselves for Moharbo; and in the course of the first day's journey met with three black men,



who promised to carry them to the king in ten days. In two days and a half they came to the dwelling of a native called Rafahare, the principal man of the country next to the king, and with him they were left. He was very kind to them, especially when he understood that they were Englishmen, for he could speak a little English. He put James Holland and Stephen Wicks under the care of his chief wife, and the remaining two under the charge of another of his wives, with a strict command to let them want nothing, and to be as mothers to them. James Hollaud died about two months afterwards of a lingering illness, and his companions buried him as decently as they could.

In a month from this time, Stephen Wicks died very suddenly, and his companions were led to suspect that he had been poisoned, as many spots appeared on his body: they were so ill themselves that they were unable to follow his corpse the whole way to see it buried.

Rafahare had an aunt called Balles, who then took the two survivors under her care: she was equally attentive to them as his two wives had been; supplied them with food, got a hut built for them, and gave them a piece of cloth to make clothes.

Rafahare used to be chiefly out on the scout with about fifty armed men: when at home, he treated the seamen with great civility and respect. After they had been about five months with him, he told them that he had some men going to the king, whom they might accompany, and also that he heard there were three ships at Youngoult. John Dean answered, that his companion, William Eadnell, being very ill and weak, was not able to travel; but Eadnell himself rejoiced to hear of ship-

ping, and, in hopes again to reach his native country, said he could go.

The two seamen then took leave of Rafahare and his wives, returning them many thanks for their care and tenderness, and set out on their journey towards Moharbo. Before travelling far, Eadnell dropped, unable to proceed. Dean advised him to go back, and offered to accompany him, but he was unable to do so : therefore the natives carried him, turn by turn, two days, and at that time slung a hammock to carry him the more easy, for he grew extremely ill ; and on the sixth day, when they arrived at a small village, he died. Dean sewed him up in a mat, and then buried him. At this village the party staid five days to refresh themselves ; and having again set out, in two days arrived at a village not far from the king's. They were refused all provisions by the inhabitants but toak, and that they would not accept ; on which Rachapore, the chief of the party, dispatched a messenger to the king, to inform him where they were, that they had an Englishman in company, and particularly, that the people refused to give them food. The king hearing this, immediately ordered them to be supplied with whatever they wanted ; so they got a bullock, part of which they ate, and packing up the remainder, departed on the way towards Moharbo, where they arrived next day.

Dean was carried to the king, whom he found seated on a stool under a large tamarind tree, eating milk and rice with a wooden spoon, out of a wooden bowl, and surrounded by about forty men armed. He went up to the king to make his obeisance, and was told by him that his name was Renauf, and that he was king of Rambour. He

next asked him whether he was French or English, which Dean answered, in the language of the natives, saying he was English. The king ordered a mess of milk and rice to be brought to him. He then saw the Frenchman, who had been some time at Moharbo. The king ordered Rachapore to carry him to a native named Roboi next morning, but that night himself to take care of him. However, Roboi was travelling to a habitation up the country; therefore, after two hours journey, Dean could go no farther. He always thought that they intended conducting him down to the ships, until he found, to his great disappointment, that they were about to carry him up into the country, whence there would be little likelihood of his ever getting away.

When Roboi found that he would not proceed willingly, he sent him back to the care of his brother, Renose, with whom he staid about four months, and met with good usage. During this time his clothes wore out, and he had on only a shred of cloth for a girdle. He daily went to the king begging clothes; but for a month his suit was vain. The king then gave him an ox, which he exchanged for a piece of cloth little more than a yard square. Having received some rice, after a lapse of four months, he set out for Andreck, to barter it for salt and fish: and on his journey he arrived at the habitation of a native, named Rabbalow, a man of authority, and a favourite of the king. As he had once been there before, Rabbalow knew him, and he met with a kind reception; Rabbalow offering to take him under his care, and supply him with necessaries. Therefore he took up his abode here, and went daily at pleasure from Munghavo, where he lived, to wait on the king,

in whose diversions he partook. The chief of those diversions was making small clay butts, and then in the hands hitting them together.

A month after Dean's residence with Rabbalow, he heard of the arrival of a French ship at Youngoult. The captain, a mate, and the boatswain, halted there on their way to Moharbo, to visit the king; on which Dean was immediately confined, and ordered to be kept from the Frenchmen. In the night, however, he got loose, and stole out to the Frenchmen, who expressed themselves very glad to see him, for the boatswain could speak English.

Next day they set out to wait on the king, for the purpose of settling trade, and remained with him the whole day: the one subsequent they returned, and staid all night at Rabbalow's. Dean was treated civilly by the people, who gave him beef to carry to his hut, and fed him with soles, rice, and whatever else they had. In the morning they set out, and soon after Rabbalow followed along with others, and took Dean along with them. Having travelled about twenty miles, they overtook the French gentlemen, who were refreshing themselves; and they allowed Dean to partake: and the boatswain tied a handkerchief about his head as a gift. Rabbalow, distrusting his intention, and thinking he designed to go with the Frenchmen, ordered him to come away, which he refused.

The gentlemen, after refreshing themselves, set forward towards Youngoult, and Dean followed them; but as they had got a little before him, a native, named Revoy, with others, by order of Rabbalow, came up and put a rope about his neck, telling him, that he must return to Moharbo, to the king; but this he refused, alleging himself unable to travel, from fatigue, and because his legs were sore.



Having then tied him to a tree, and run his lance several times across his throat, he threatened to kill him if he would not go : on which Dean said that he would accompany him next day, if he was able, after he had taken some rest. While fast to the tree, several of Revoy's attendants used him very ill, several times attempting to snatch from his neck the handkerchief which he had got from the boatswain ; but, observing their design, he secured it. Thus they let him rest all that night, and next day he was sent to the king, at Moharbo, under the guard of a man and a woman. On reaching the king, he found him at his usual diversion of clay butts. The king asked him what he wanted, to which he replied, that he wanted to go to the French ship, at Youngoult. The king then promised, that he should go down with himself next day ; and accordingly they set out with a numerous suite.

When they came to Munghavo, they stopped at Rabbalow's. Most of the deceased kings are laid here, in small houses : and by the king's command the party killed an ox, beat drums, blew their conchs, and fired guns over the houses of the deceased kings : dressing themselves up and dancing, according to the usual custom of the country when the king passes that place.

Next day they set out and travelled towards Youngoult, and at night built up huts, which are easily made, and rested that night. Renose, by the king's command, cut the throat of one of the chief men, for breaking a dog's leg. In the morning the king asked whether Dean had any tobacco, desiring to have some : but he having none told him so ; whereon the king declared that he should not go down with him, for the French were

not his countrymen ; and ordered him to be carried to his mother, Rytampitt, there to be kept.

This was a severe disappointment, and made him despair of ever being redeemed. The king, about a fortnight afterwards, called on his return at his mother, Rytampitt's, in a European dress, and told Dean that he must accompany him back to Moharbo. Dean again requested the king to be allowed to go down to Youngoult, but, to his great grief, was denied, and therefore departed for Moharbo, along with the king. They halted at Munghavo, to perform the same ceremony as before, over the deceased kings. On arriving at Moharbo, the king ordered him again to Revoy's, where he had already been four months.

About a week afterwards, a Frenchman who lived on the island, different, however, from him already mentioned, who was now dead, came to Moharbo, and informed the king, that the French captain was much displeased that he should detain the Englishman against his inclination, and refuse him liberty to go down to the ship at Youngoult. Dean fortunately happened to be with the king when the Frenchman delivered the message ; so the king then told him that he might go down, on which he immediately went home, took his mat and lance, and bade farewell to Renose and his wives, returning them hearty thanks for their civilities ; and he gave one of them his handkerchief, which was all he had to bestow. Then he went to beg some beef of the king, but could only get a few guts stuffed with suet ; therefore, returning the king thanks, he took his leave, and set out for Munghavo, on his way to the ship. He slept at Rabbalow's at Munghavo that same night, when Rabbalow's wife requested the guts from him,

and received them. In return she gave him some rice to eat, but none to carry away; and in the morning he proceeded on his journey. Before night he halted at Rytampitt's, who gave him two lengths of sugar-cane, and some plantains, which he was glad to get, and acknowledged it with many thanks. He travelled six miles further to a small village, where he got a fire, roasted the plantains, and slept in a small hut all night. Having set out in the morning, he reached Rabbalow's house at Youngoult in the afternoon.

Dean now observing two ships, learned, with much satisfaction, that one was an English vessel, which encouraged his hopes of seeing his native country, after the imminent hardships and dangers he had undergone. Rabbalow's wife sent a slave to the French factor, informing him that Dean was arrived; but he answered with desiring that he might not be allowed to come to the factory, as the French would not buy him, and adding, that he was ignorant of the intention of the English. He then complained of hunger, and asked permission of the wives to go to the French factory to get some food, which they refused, informing him that their orders were not to let him go. However, he watched an opportunity, and slipped out with the design of going thither. As he was soon missed, a slave was hastily sent to acquaint Rabbalow, who then told the English captain of his arrival at Youngoult, and, at the captain's request, sent the slave to conduct him to the factory. The slave found him sitting on a sand bank; for, his legs and feet being sore from laceration, by travelling barefooted, he could not walk far without resting. On reaching the French factory, to his inexpressible joy, he found the English captain, who received

him with much pleasure and civility, and promised to take care of him. Having obtained some refreshment, he gave a short account of his shipwreck and other misfortunes. He slept all night at the French factory ; and, in the morning, the captain, asking him whether he chose to go on board his ship, or stay at the factory, he preferred the former, as he was apprehensive the natives would carry him up the country again if they could. Therefore he embarked in the first boat, and got safe on board of the Prince William, East India ship, Captain Joseph Langworth, bound from Madagascar to Bombay.

Great and inexpressible was the satisfaction of this shipwrecked seaman, at finding himself amidst so many of his own nation, who all gladly welcomed him on coming among them, and heartily rejoiced at his happy and miraculous deliverance from dangers so imminent, which none but God, out of his infinite goodness and mercy towards mankind, could have power to do.

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John Dean sent the narrative of his adventures to the East India Company, who granted him a pension, and ordered his picture to be taken, which is still to be seen at the India House. He died 17th December 1747.



**LOSS OF THE WAGER MAN-OF-WAR,****ON THE COAST OF PATAGONIA, 14TH MAY 1741.**

**I**N the course of these volumes we have too many examples of the evils arising from insubordination, and we cannot but particularly lament, that seamen, who, under a skilful leader, are capable of distinguished achievements, are so seldom endowed with prudence and consideration sufficient to perform what merits celebrity without one. Nay, it must excite infinite astonishment, that the want of such a leader, in whom confidence may be reposed, should be so often the signal for mutiny and revolt. Seamen ought to reflect, that, where all would be masters, where order and obedience are at an end, nothing but misfortunes and discomfiture can ensue; that their numbers will waste away and diminish along with the authority that controuls them, until they are either incapable of resisting an enemy, or of withstanding the natural and inevitable hardships to which their situation is exposed. Subordination is therefore indispensable to their existence; when that is thrown aside, their welfare terminates along with it, of which there is a striking illustration in the following narratives.

An expedition on a great scale, against the settlements of the Spaniards, having been resolved on by the British government, six vessels of war, and

two store-ships, sailed on the 18th of September 1740, from England for South America. It is to the fate of one of that squadron, the Wager, that our attention is here to be directed.

The Wager was an old East Indiaman, purchased into the service on this occasion, and fitted out as a man-of-war. Being used as a store-ship, she was deeply laden with all kinds of careening, and also with military and other stores, for the benefit of the rest of the ships; and she was besides crowded with bale goods, and encumbered with merchandise. A vessel of her quality and condition could not be expected to be manœuvred with that ease and readiness which were indispensable for her security in those heavy seas which she was to encounter, for the voyage was to be pursued round Cape Horn, then noted as a tempestuous region. The expedition was unaccountably delayed until the proper season for its sailing had elapsed, and the interval neglected, which should have been employed in providing a suitable force of seamen and marines. Neither was there proper regard paid to the other requisites of so peculiar and extensive a destination. The crew consisted of men pressed from long voyages, to be sent on a distant and hazardous service; and all the land-forces on board consisted of a poor detachment of infirm and decrepid invalids from Chelsea Hospital, desponding under the apprehensions which anticipation of such a length of maritime excursion excited.

On the 27th of October the Wager anchored in Funchal Road, in the island of Madeira, and for some days was chiefly engaged in getting water on board; on the 4th of November, Captain Kidd, her commander, was removed on board the

Pearl, one of the squadron, and was succeeded in the *Wager* by Captain Murray. But, on the 17th of February 1741, another change ensued, occasioned by Captain Kidd's death in the *Pearl*, where he was again succeeded by Captain Murray.

A few days before his death, Captain Kidd, aware of the condition of the *Wager*, presaged her want of success. He said, that this voyage, in which both officers and sailors had engaged with so much cheerfulness and alacrity, would ultimately have a different issue from their expectations, and disappoint the hopes which they entertained of gaining treasures by it ; for it would end in famine, death, and destruction. By the removal of Captain Murray, Captain Cheap succeeded to the command of the *Wager*.

On the first of April the commodore ordered the carpenter of the *Wager* on board the *Gloucester*, another of the squadron, and, during his absence, bad weather, much to the ship's injury, prevailed. When near to the southernmost mouth of the Straits of Le Maire, the *Wager* being the sternmost ship, was, by a sudden shifting of the wind to southward, almost wrecked on the rocks of Staten-land. Contrary to the expectation of the rest of the squadron, she weathered them, and then kept company with the other ships for some time.

On the 8th of April the mizen-mast was carried away by a great roll of a hollow sea, and all the chain-plates to windward broke ; and, on the 12th, there was a heavy gale, with a great swell. A sea broke over the ship at seven in the morning, which carried the gunner over the wheel, bilged the cutter, and canted her off the sheets, bottom up, athwart the barge. The long-boat was also half-filled, whence she was scuttled, and the cutter

was recovered to her place ; the spritsail-yard and jib-boom were got in for fear of endangering the bowsprit. The rigging was all gone and broke fore and aft, and almost the whole people at this time sick.

The carpenter having returned on the 14th, the tempestuous weather and swell of the sea being previously too great and dangerous for boats, a cap was fitted on the stump of the mizen-mast, and a lower studding-sail-boom, of forty feet, got up. This, however, and patching up the rigging, proved only a temporary expedient ; for, on the first of May, after a consultation of the officers, it was resolved to cut away the best-bower anchor, as there was no possibility of securing it without putting the fore-mast in extreme danger, because the shrouds and chain-plates were all broke, and the ship, in every part, in a crazy condition.

In this shattered and disabled state, the *Wager* lost sight of the squadron, and, from an error in conjecture as to her situation, was bearing for a lee-shore. The weather was unfavourable for obtaining any observation, and of the coast which she was then ranging there were no charts. It had generally been understood in the ship, that the place of rendezvous was the island of Juan Fernandez, to which, considering the state she was in, the first-lieutenant and other officers endeavoured to persuade the captain to repair. Abundance of weeds, and the flight of certain birds, indicated their approach towards the land, and alarms began to be excited among them for the dangers of a lee-shore. The gunner informed the captain, that, by his desire, he had calculated the longitude, and that he then judged them to be sixty leagues from the land ; and, on this occasion,



the captain told him that the place of rendezvous was the island of Socoro. The gunner then endeavoured to remonstrate on the bad condition of the ship for coming in with a lee shore ; and that if she should be brought to an anchor, that it would be impossible to weigh it again : to which the captain answered, he had no design of coming to an anchor ; that he purposed to stand off and on twenty-four hours, and, if he saw none of the squadron within that time, he should go to Juan de Fernandez. “ Sir,” said the gunner, “ the ship is a perfect wreck ; our mizen-mast gone, with the standing rigging afore and abaft, and all our people down ; there are only twelve fit for duty :—therefore it may be dangerous to fall in with the land.” The captain observed, that it did not signify, as he was obliged, and determined to go for the first place of rendezvous.

It is necessary to explain, that the island of Socoro is in the neighbourhood of Baldivia, the capture of which place could not be accomplished without the junction of the ship which carried the naval and military stores. Thus the importance of giving an early and unexpected blow to the Spaniards in that quarter, determined the captain to make the shortest way to the point in view. Rigid adherence to his orders, from which he concluded he had no discretionary powers of deviation, lulled the sense of danger which pervaded the rest, who were ignorant of their purport.

On the 13th, the captain unluckily fell and dislocated his shoulder, which confined him to his cabin. At eight in the morning, the straps of the fore-jeer blocks broke, and the yard was got down, and the people employed in new strapping the blocks. At nine o'clock, the carpenter going for-

ward, saw land from the fore-castle, and pointed it out to the lieutenant on deck, who would not believe it to be the case. But it afterwards becoming more plain, an eminence which was seen was taken for one of the mountains of the Cordilleras. Many, however, still considered it a delusion of the imagination. At length, when the fact would admit of no doubt, the gunner acquainted the captain, who immediately gave orders to 'sway the fore-yard up, to set the fore-sail, and wear the ship with her head to the southward. Fully sensible that she was bodily driving to the land, bearing north-west, the utmost exertions were made to crowd her off the shore, a measure of great difficulty, from the few hands able to stand to duty, which sometimes were no more than three in a watch. But the weather, from being tempestuous, blew a perfect hurricane, and indeed some of the sails were so bad, that they would have split on attempting to loose them from the yards.

During the first and middle watch of the night, it blew and rained tremendously, and on throwing out the topsails to clear off the shore, they were immediately blown from the yard. It was, besides, so extremely dark, that the people could not see the length of the ship. At four in the morning of Thursday the fourteenth, the ship came up with her a-head to the west, so that she was then standing off the shore. Notwithstanding, at half past four, she struck abaft on a sunken rock.

The shock though very great, not being unlike\* the striking of a heavy sea, such as in the course of the preceding storm had often been experienced, was thought nothing else. But those on board were soon undeceived, by the ship striking a se-

cond time, more violently than before, which laid her on her beam ends, and the sea made a fair breach over her.

Every person who now could stir, was instantly on the quarter-deck, and even many were alert on this occasion, whose faces had hardly been seen on deck for above two months before. Several poor wretches, who were in the last stage of the scurvy, and unable to leave their hammocks, were immediately drowned.

In this dreadful condition the vessel lay some time, every soul on board looking on the present moment as his last, for nothing except rocks and breakers were visible all around ; however, a mountainous wave threw her off the rock where she struck, on which she immediately struck again, and broke her tiller, so that she was steered with the main and fore sheets, easing off one, and hawling aft the other, as she came to, or fell off.

In this terrifying and critical juncture, it would have required an observer himself free from all impressions of danger, to have observed the various modes of horror, operating according to the various characters and dispositions of the people. But there were some instances of conduct so very extraordinary, that they could not escape the notice of persons yet retaining the use of their perfect senses. One man, in particular, seemed deprived of reason ; in the ravings of despair, he was seen talking about the deck, flourishing a cutlass over his head, and calling himself the king of the country. He struck every one he came near, nor had his companions any other security against his violence than knocking him down. Some who had before been reduced by long sickness and scurvy, became, as it were, petrified, and bereaved of sense on this occasion, and were carried to and

fro by the jerks and rolling of the ship, like inanimate logs, without making efforts towards aiding themselves. So terrible was the scene of foaming breakers all around, that one of the bravest men on board, dismayed at their appearance, would have thrown himself over the rails of the quarter-deck into the sea, had he not been prevented. But there were, at the same time, instances of those who retained a presence of mind truly heroic. The man at the helm kept his station though both rudder and tiller were gone; and, being asked by one of the officers, if the ship would steer or not, first leisurely made a trial by the wheel, and then, answering with as much respect and coolness as if she had been in safety, applied himself with his usual serenity to his duty, persuaded that it did not become him to desert it so long as the ship kept together. Mr Jones, the mate who survived both the wreck of the *Wager*, and afterwards that of the *Litchfield*, on the coast of *Barbary*, not only shewed himself undaunted while the ship was in the most imminent danger, but endeavoured to inspire the men with the same resolution. “My friends,” he said, “let us not be discouraged. Did you never see a ship amongst breakers before?—Come, lend a hand; here is a sheet, and here is a brace; lay hold: I don’t doubt but we may bring her yet near enough the land to save our lives.” This had so good an effect, that many who appeared half-dead, seemed active again, and now went to work in earnest. Mr Jones acted thus merely to keep up the spirits of the people as long as possible; for he often afterwards expressed his opinion that there would not then have been a single man saved.

They now ran in between an opening of the



breakers, steering by the sheets and braces, when providentially they stuck fast between two great rocks, the one to windward, sheltering them in some measure from the violence of the sea. The mainmast and foremast were immediately cut by the board, and the sheet-anchor from the gunwale, but the ship continued beating to windward in such a manner, that it was supposed she could hold only a very short time together.

Day now broke, and the weather, which had been extremely thick, clearing away for a few moments, gave the people a glimpse of land at no great distance. Nothing was now thought of but saving their lives, for the land did not seem above a musket-shot off. Getting out the boats, however, was the work of some time, as the masts were gone: the barge, cut and yawl, were nevertheless launched over the gunwale, and so many were ready to leap into the first prepared, that she was almost overloaded. The captain now sent the barge ashore to see if the place was inhabited, but not returning so quickly as was expected, the yawl was sent after her.

Mr Byron, a midshipman, went to the captain, confined to his cabin from the accident he had met with, and asked him, whether he would not go on shore; but he answered, as he had done before, that he should be the last to leave the ship, and ordered Mr Byron to assist in getting out the men as speedily as possible. Mr Byron had been with him very often from the time the ship had struck, and could not avoid remarking, that he issued his orders with as much coolness as ever he had done during the former part of the voyage.

On a sudden the scene, which the interior of the ship had previously presented, was greatly chang-

ed. Many who, but a few minutes before, had evinced the strongest signs of fear, and were on their knees imploring mercy, now conceiving themselves out of immediate danger, grew extremely riotous. They broke open every box and chest they could reach, stove in the heads of the casks of rum and brandy as they were brought up the main hatch, and got so completely intoxicated, that a great number of them were drowned on board, and lay floating about the decks for some days afterwards.

Mr. Byron went down to his chest at the bulk-head of the wardroom, in order to save some of his articles if possible; but while there the ship went with such violence, and the water came in so fast, that he was forced to get on the quarter-deck again, without saving any thing except what he wore.

The boatswain and some of the people would not leave the ship as long as any liquor was to be obtained, therefore Captain Cheap allowed himself to be assisted out of bed, put into the boat, and carried ashore along with the other officers. The master, boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, remained behind.

To men thus on the point of perishing by shipwreck, gaining the shore must naturally be conceived the highest object of their wishes. Yet the situation of those who landed in safety was, all things considered, but little bettered by the change. Whichever way they looked, a scene of horror and desolation presented itself: on one side, the wreck, with all they had in the world to subsist upon, and a boisterous element, presented a hideous prospect; while on the other, the bleak and barren aspect of the shore, promised no other benefit than merely preservation from the sea.

Though this could not be denied to be a great

and merciful deliverance from instant destruction, those unfortunate persons had to struggle with cold, wet, and hunger, and wanted any visible remedy against them. But exerting themselves against the impending evils, and searching out some shelter for their benumbed and almost helpless limbs, they discovered an Indian hut in a wood, at a small distance from the beach. Into this as many as possible crowded themselves, and the night came on exceedingly tempestuous and rainy. Here, however, their situation was such as to exclude the refreshment which repose would have afforded. Besides being incommoded for want of room, they were not void of apprehension that they might be attacked by the Indians, as they found some of their lances and other arms in the hut; and uncertainty of their force preserved perpetual anxiety.

In this wretched hovel, a lieutenant of invalids died in the course of the night, and of those who for want of room took shelter under a large tree, which proved of little service, two also perished through the inclemency of the weather.

In the morning the calls of hunger, which had hitherto been quelled by more immediate dangers, became too importunate to be resisted. Most of the party had fasted eight-and-forty hours, and several a greater length of time: thus they examined into what had been brought ashore, and what the land could afford. Only two or three pounds of biscuit dust had then been saved, and from the badness of the weather, those who ventured abroad were able to kill but a single sea gull, and gather some wild celery. These provisions were put into a pot, with a considerable quantity of water, and made into a kind of soup, of which every one

partook as far as it would go. But no sooner had they swallowed it, than they were seized with the most painful sickness of the stomach, violent retchings, swoonings, and other symptoms of being poisoned. This was ascribed to various causes, though in general to the herbs made use of; however, on further inquiry, it appeared that the biscuit dust, which was the sweepings of the bread-room, had been put into a tobacco bag, the contents of which not having been entirely cleared out, mixed with the biscuit dust, and proved a strong emetic.

About one hundred and forty had at this period got on shore, but some few still continued on board the wreck, detained either by drunkenness, or remaining with the view of pillage, and among them was the boatswain. They were visited by an officer in the yawl, who was to endeavour to prevail on them to join the rest; but finding them in the greatest disorder, and disposed to mutiny, he was obliged to abandon his purpose, and return without them.

Those on shore were strongly induced to make a survey of the land, whereon they were thrown, yet their excursions were limited from an apprehension that the Indians might be in the vicinity. So far as they went the ground was morassy and unpromising. The spot which they occupied was a bay formed by hilly promontories; that to the north, which they called Mount Misery, was so exceedingly steep, that they were at the labour of cutting steps to ascend, as the sea washing the bottom precluded them from going round it. Mr Byron further on, saw some parts of the wreck drove ashore in another bay, but they got no provisions, nor even shell-fish, which they were chiefly in



quest of. On that day they had nothing except wild celery.

The ensuing night proved extremely tempestuous, and the sea running very high, threatened those on board with destruction from the ship parting asunder. They were then as solicitous to get ashore, as they had before obstinately rejected the assistance sent to them. Not finding the boat come to their relief at the instant they expected it, without considering that the sea rendered this impracticable, they fired one of the quarter-deck guns at the hut. The ball passed just over the covering, and was plainly heard by the captain and others, who were within. Another attempt was therefore made to bring these inconsiderate people to land; which proved abortive, however, owing to the violence of the sea, and other impediments occasioned by the mast lying alongside of the wreck.

This unavoidable delay rendered the people on board quite outrageous; they knocked every thing to pieces that came in the way, and carrying their intemperance to the greatest excess, broke open chests and cabins for plunder that could be of no use to them. So intent were they on their thefts, that one man had evidently been murdered on account of some division of the spoil or for the sake of the share that fell to him, as his corpse had all the marks of his having been strangled.

In the perpetration of such outrages, there was one thing to which they were particularly attentive, which was providing themselves with arms and ammunition, the better to support their mutinous designs. They claimed a total and lawless exemption from the authority of the officers, which

they maintained should cease with the loss of the ship. But of these arms, which the officers greatly needed, they were very soon deprived on coming ashore, by the resolution of Captain Cheap and Lieutenant Hamilton, who held loaded pistols to their breasts. The boatswain, as already observed, was among the mutineers remaining on board. Instead of exerting his authority over the rest, and keeping them within bounds, he was himself the ringleader of the riot. He now appeared arrayed in a suit of laced clothes, after being several days in the wreck, when, without respect to the figure he made, Captain Cheap levelled a blow with his cane at him, and felled him to the ground, to all appearance dead. On recovering his senses, he saw a cocked pistol in the captain's hand, and offered his naked breast to him; when the captain told him that he deserved to be shot.

It was scarce possible to refrain from laughter at the singular appearance of the fellows at this time come ashore; they had rifled the officers chests of their best clothes, and put them over their greasy trowsers and dirty check shirts. However, they were soon stripped of their finery, as they had before been of their arms, which they very quietly resigned, and then they bore resemblance to a set of transported felons.

As the incessant rains and extreme cold of the climate rendered it necessary to obtain some shelter, for the hut was far too small to contain all the people, some other expedient had to be devised. Accordingly the gunner, carpenter, and several more, turning the cutter keel upwards, and fixing her on props, formed no despicable habitation. There was then more leisure to look after supplies, and the people soon provided themselves

with sea-fowl, limpets, mussels, and other shell-fish, in tolerable abundance. But they were frequently shocked in their researches along the shore, to see the mangled corpses of their comrades drove in by the surf. Nevertheless, the calls of hunger were so pressing, that they were glad to shoot the carrion crows while preying on the carcasses, that in their turn they might serve for provision.

Notwithstanding the utmost industry in this respect, the supply was far short of the necessities of so many. The wreck was therefore resorted to as frequently as possible, until they should be capable of extending their excursions in search of food. Yet it afforded only a precarious addition, which at best could not be of long duration, whence the most frugal economy was practised in dealing out the provisions, and several officers always stood armed on the beach, as the boats arrived, to prevent the men from embezzling what was brought in them. Great difficulties also occurred in these visits to the wreck, for none of it being above water excepting the quarter-deck, and part of the fore-castle, the different articles were purchased by means of large hooks fastened to long poles; and this occupation was much obstructed by the bodies floating between decks.

In order to secure what had thus been obtained, Captain Cheap ordered a store-tent to be erected near his hut, from which nothing should be dealt, unless in a certain measure and proportion. The petty officers were appointed to watch the tent by night, which was a severe duty on them, as they were engaged all day in quest of food; and were therefore ordered to divide the task equally among them, that the burden might be lightened.

Notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, frequent

robberies were committed on the stores, the tent being in more than one place accessible : and one night when Mr Byron had the watch, hearing some motion within, he came unawares on the thief, and presenting a pistol to his breast, obliged him to submit to be tied up to a post until he had an opportunity of securing him more effectually. Spite of this, the depredations continued, which rendered it indispensable to punish the perpetrators with the utmost rigour.

The proportions that might be afforded were so small, that even with what could be found along the coast, many perished of absolute hunger. A boy, when nothing else could be found, having picked up the liver of one of the drowned men, whose carcase had been dashed to pieces against the rocks, could be with difficulty withheld from making a meal of it. The shore was searched both night and day, and those who were less alert, or fortunate than their neighbours, if they did not actually perish of hunger, were driven to the utmost extremity. It was only on the 25th of May that provisions first began to be regularly served out from the store-tent, while the shipwreck happened on the 14th.

On the 20th of May, the long-boat was got out by cutting away the gunwale of the wreck, and several men were then found drowned in it ; and the decks were continued to be scuttled, in order to come at the contents below. While engaged in these operations, three canoes with Indians, came alongside the wreck, from around a point at lagoons to the southward. It was some time before they could be induced to enter on any intercourse with the people of the Wager. At length, on receiving presents of cloth and other things, they al-



lowed themselves to be conducted to the captain; they then bartered for a dog or two, which those on shore roasted and ate, and they had some very fine large mussels in their canoes.

It was evident that these savages had never seen white men before; their language was quite unintelligible, and their clothing the skins of beasts, or a covering formed of feathers interwoven. They departed, and in a short time afterwards returned, bringing three sheep, of which animals there was no appearance in all the surrounding country, whence it was conjectured that they had been brought from a great distance originally.

It was now ascertained, that the place of the shipwreck was about ninety leagues to the northward of the western mouth of the Straits of Magellan, in latitude between  $47^{\circ}$  and  $48^{\circ}$  south. The Cordilleras could plainly be seen from it, and by two lagoons stretching north and south, it was supposed to be an island. From the inland part appearing impracticable, on account of woods, and from the necessity of procuring subsistence, no extensive excursions could yet be undertaken.

Meantime the difficulties with which the people were pressed, the uncertainty of relief, and their great indiscretion, which from the first prevailed, began to be more openly manifested, by discontent and insubordination. This was exhibited in some by their separating from the habitations already established; and in others, by a resolution to leave the captain, and without any settled or definite plan, to make a wild journey by themselves. Within three weeks from the date of the wreck, ten men deserted, who after rambling up and down the woods for some time, and finding it impossible to advance further, as they were evidently on an

island, which they had at first conceived, returned, and settled about a league distant from the others. They were still resolved to get to the main land, if they could obtain craft suitable to their purpose; but before they did so, the armourer, and one of the carpenter's crew, both very useful men, were persuaded to return to their duty. The rest, all except one or two, having built a punt, and having converted part of one of the ship's masts into a canoe, went away up the lagoons, and were never more heard off. The separation of these people was not to be regretted; they were a factious and desperate set of men, and there was great reason to believe that James Mitchell, one of them, had perpetrated no less than two murders, the first on the person found strangled on board, and the second on the body of a man who was discovered among some bushes on Mount Misery, stabbed in a shocking manner. On the day of their desertion, they plotted blowing up the captain in his hut, along with the surgeon and Lieutenant Hamilton of the marines: they were with difficulty dissuaded from it by one less wicked than the rest; and half a barrel of powder, together with the train, were found actually laid.

But an unfortunate event, which soon after followed, inflamed the people, already too much disposed to mutiny, to the highest degree. Mr Cozens, a midshipman, was confined for intoxication, and behaved to the captain in a manner highly disrespectful and insolent, insomuch, that the captain had previously struck him with his cane. On attempting again to strike him, when in confinement, the sentinel told the captain, he should strike no prisoner of his, and Cozens being riotous, was soon after released. A day or two afterwards.

he had a dispute with the surgeon, which ended in blows; and the surgeon was so much the stronger of the two that he tied his hands behind his back and left him. Probably he was kept heated with liquor, and edged on by ill-designing persons, because when sober, he enjoyed universal repute for good-nature. The captain had then a consultation with the officers, concerning the turbulence of the people, when the gunner and the carpenter endeavoured to persuade him, that those in their tent, consisting of eighteen of the stoutest men among them, were generally well affected; however, there is great reason to believe, from all concurring circumstances, that there was no general bond of concord among any particular set.

A little time after this, at the hour of serving provisions on the 10th of June, Mr Cozens was at the store-tent; and lately having had a quarrel with the purser, new words arose between them. The latter told him he was come to mutiny, and without farther ceremony, discharged a pistol at his head, which would have shot him, had not the cooper canted up the purser's elbow at the moment. Lieutenant Hamilton hearing the report, ran out with a firelock, and calling the captain out of his hut, told him Cozens was come to mutiny; the captain running out, inquired where the villain was, and presenting a pistol, without asking any questions, immediately shot him through the head. Cozens fell, and lay on the ground weltering in his blood. He remained sensible, took Mr Byron by the hand, and also several others, shaking his head as if he meant to bid them farewell.

The people alarmed by the noise of the fire-arms, ran out of their tents, and though they disguised their sentiments for the present, were ex-

tremely exasperated, for Cozens was much beloved by the whole of them. Their minds were now in such a state, that it was reasonable to expect some desperate attempt would ensue. The unhappy victim, who lay bathed in his own blood on the ground before them, seemed to absorb their whole attention; the eyes of all were fixed upon him, and visible marks of the deepest concern appeared in the countenances of the spectators. His messmates begged the captain's permission, that the sufferer might be removed to their tent, which he, still resenting the mutinous design, refused; and after the surgeon's mate had extracted the ball from his head, he was allowed to languish some days on the ground, with no other covering than a bit of canvas thrown over some bushes, where he died.

The captain, after the deed was done, addressed the people, assembled together by his command, and told them that he was resolved to retain his authority over them as usual, and that it remained as much in force as ever. He then ordered them all to return to their respective tents, with which they instantly complied. This event, however, contributed to lessen him in the regard of the people.

As the long-boat had been recovered from the wreck, it was judged expedient to enlarge her, for the purpose of enabling those who were willing to leave such a desolate island. She was therefore hauled up on the eighteenth of June, put on two blocks, and sawed in two, and lengthened about twelve feet in the keel. All who could be spared from the indispensable task of procuring subsistence were employed in assisting the carpenter, by shaping and fitting timber. The weather having lately been very tempestuous, the wreck



worked much, and discharged a great quantity of its contents, which were everywhere dispersed about the shore; and parties, going up the lagoons, likewise sometimes succeeded in shooting sea-fowl.

On the twenty-fifth, fifty Indians, men, women, and children, in five canoes, came to settle with the Wager's people, and immediately began to build four wigwams. Their canoes were laden with seal, shell-fish, and four sheep; and their presence might have been of great use, but the seamen, being now under little or no controul, endeavoured to seduce their wives, which gave such offence among them, that they departed in a fortnight, carrying every thing along with them.

From the progress of the long-boat, the people now began to think of the course they should take in getting home; and having obtained Sir John Narborough's Voyage from Captain Cheap, they conceived that it should be by the Straits of Magellan. The captain's opinion was different, as he planned going northwards, seizing a ship from the enemy, and joining the commodore of the squadron.

After the Indians went away, the distresses of the people for want of food, increased by the badness of the weather, became insupportable. Their number, at first one hundred and forty-five, was reduced to an hundred, chiefly by famine, which was cruelly urgent on the survivors. Mr Byron had built a small hut, fit to contain only himself and a poor Indian dog, which he had found straying in the woods. The animal became extremely attached to him, and watched his hut, where he suffered no one to enter. At low water he provided for himself, by feeding on limpets along the shore.

Now, however, when Mr Byron was at home with his dog, a party came to the door, telling him their necessities were such, that they must eat the dog, or starve. In spite of Mr Byron's desire to preserve the faithful animal, they took him away by force and killed him. He then, thinking himself entitled to at least as good a share as the rest, sat down with them and partook of their repast. Three weeks afterwards, recollecting the spot where the dog was killed, he went to it, and was glad to make a meal of the paws and skin, which were thrown aside and rotten.

The urgent calls of hunger put the men to many shifts in endeavouring to satisfy it. The boatswain's mate having got a water puncheon, scuttled it; then lashing two logs, one on each side, to it, he went to sea in this extraordinary and original piece of embarkation. Thus he would frequently provide himself with wild-fowl when all the rest were starving; and the weather was bad indeed when it deterred him from adventuring. Sometimes he would be absent a whole day. At last he was unfortunately upset by a heavy sea, when at a great distance from shore; but, being near a rock, though no swimmer, he contrived to scramble to it. There he remained two days with little prospect of relief, as he was too far off the land to be visible. Luckily, however, a boat happening to go that way in quest of wild-fowl, discovered his signals, and rescued him from his forlorn condition. Yet, he was so little discouraged by this accident, that, soon after, he procured an ox's hide, and, by the assistance of hoops, fashioned something like a canoe, in which he made several successful voyages.

That region was visited by almost incessant tempests, likely to be productive of disastrous consequences. Nevertheless, the people availed themselves of every opportunity afforded by fair weather. Mr Byron and two others having gone on an excursion in a wretched punt of their own making, had no sooner landed at a high rock than the punt was driven loose by a sudden squall. If one of the men with him had not, at the risk of his life, leapt into the sea and swam to her, in all probability they would have perished, as the rock was three leagues from land.

When the long boat was nearly finished, a party consisting of fourteen, among whom were Mr Byron and the gunner, went to reconnoitre in the barge. Going ashore at the distance of several leagues, they pitched a bell-tent carried along with them, which not being large enough to contain the whole party, four occupied the skeleton of a wigwam, about two miles distant. This they covered with sea-weed to windward, and lay down to sleep. They had not lain long before one of the party was disturbed by the blowing of some animal at his face, and, on opening his eyes, he was not a little astonished to see, by the glimmering of the fire, a large beast standing over him. He had presence of mind, however, to snatch a brand from the fire, which was now very low, and thrust it at the nose of the animal, which then made off. This done, he awakened his companions, and, with horror in his countenance, related his narrow escape from being devoured. Notwithstanding the apprehension of another visit from the animal, they composed themselves to sleep, and passed the night undisturbed. Next morning they traced the impression of the animal's foot, which was large,

round, and well furnished with claws, towards the bell-tent, in considerable anxiety for the safety of their friends. They also, it was found, had been visited by the same unwelcome guest, which they had driven away by a similar expedient.

The party returning to Wager's Island, found that six canoes of Indians had been there during their absence, and had brought some supplies of provisions along with them. But the murmurings and dissatisfaction of the people had also, in that interval, arose to a great extent. They held frequent assemblies and cabals together, which ended in a written declaration, on the 4th of August, that they considered the safest passage homeward by the Straits of Magellan. They strongly urged the captain's acquiescence to this plan, after presenting him with their resolution, and although he did not strenuously oppose it, yet, when they began to stipulate that he should be under certain restrictions in respect to his command during the voyage, and do nothing without consulting his officers, he insisted on the full exercise of his authority as before.

The people then, carrying their mutinous designs to the utmost extremity, resolved to deprive the captain of his command; and, being in arms on the 28th of August, respecting the punishment of depredators from the stores, gave three cheers while the captain was consulting with the officers, calling out for England, and sailing by the Straits of Magellan. The captain, hearing the noise, issued from the tent, and was informed of their design to take the command from him, and bestow it on the lieutenant. On which he exclaimed, in an authoritative tone, "Who is he that will take the command from me?" and, turning to the lieu-



tenant, said, "Is it you, Sir?" But the lieutenant, dismayed by the captain's aspect, and growing as pale as ashes, answered, "No, Sir." On this the mutineers returned to the captain of marines, and informed him that the lieutenant had declined the command.

But all order and discipline were entirely at an end, and soon afterwards another device was adopted to wrest the command from the captain. They determined to seize him for having killed Cozens, the midshipman, and carry him to England a prisoner along with them. Accordingly, their project was executed on the 9th of October, when, well aware of his resolution and intrepidity, they rushed into his tent in a body, surprised him in the morning in bed, and carried him, exposed to insult on the way, to the purser's tent.

A few days afterwards the captain sent for the gunner, and, learning the intention of carrying him a prisoner to England, said that he had rather be shot than carried off a prisoner, and that he would not go off with them, and desired the gunner to ask the people to let him remain on the island. This they readily assented to; and Lieutenant Hamilton of the marines, and the surgeon, chose to stay with him. The mutineers also allowed him an equal proportion of provisions as themselves, and they left the same proportion for eight deserters, and also some arms and ammunition. They then conferred the command on Lieutenant Beans, and set sail, to the number of eighty-one persons, in the long-boat, cutter, and barge, on the 13th of October 1741.

Coasting along, they split the foresail of one of the boats, and in two days it was thought necessary to return, to send back the barge to the place

of the wreck to recover some canvas, as plenty had been left behind. Mr Byron had pre-determined to leave the people embarked, and therefore made one of those in the barge. In the course of this excursion, all those in the barge with him declared they had the same intention of returning. They were gladly received by Captain Cheap on their arrival at the island. With his permission, Mr Byron walked through woods and swamps across the country, to ask the people in the long-boat for the usual proportion of provisions, which they refused, and threatened to go back and take the barge away by force.

As the captain was relieved, by the departure of the long-boat, from the riotous applications, menaces, and disturbance of an unruly crew, and his strength increased by the accession of so many who had left them, he began to consider seriously of putting his plan of going to the northward in execution. A message was therefore sent to the deserters, who had settled on the other side of a neighbouring lagoon, to learn whether they were inclined to join in the undertaking. They readily agreed to it, and the number of persons in all thus amounted to twenty. But the only boats remaining to carry them off were the barge and the yawl, both very crazy bottoms; the broadside of the latter was entirely out, and the former had suffered greatly from the bad weather she had gone through. Now the carpenter was gone, there was great difficulty in repairing them: however, the people managed to patch them together so as to be fit for a voyage.

The Indians once more appeared, from whose presence they hoped their necessities for provisions would derive some relief, but they were become so

mercenary, as to part with nothing without a suitable return, which the people had not to give. Their stock was also diminished by the depredations of three of their own number, two of whom were apprehended, but the third made his escape to the woods. This theft was looked on as a heinous crime; the captain, therefore, ordered the delinquents to be severely flogged, and then banished to an island at some distance. However, before the latter part of the sentence could be put in execution, one of the two fled; the other was put on a barren island, void of all shelter. Those who carried him thither, though contrary to order, patched up a kind of hut for him, kindled a fire, and left him to shift for himself. In two or three days, going to the island with some little refreshment, such as their miserable circumstances would admit, and intending to bring him off, they found the poor wretch dead and stiff.

Mr Byron was reduced to the lowest ebb by disease, and the vile substances on which he fed to satisfy the cravings of hunger. A weed called slaugh, fried in the tallow of candles, and wild-celery, were his only fare. But the occurrence of a fair day, rare in that climate, enabled him and his companions to get off to the wreck, the bottom of which alone remained. There they had the good fortune to hook up three casks of beef, a most seasonable supply when a state of absolute famine prevailed. The whole was equally divided, and they soon recruited their lost health and strength.

On the 15th of December, they left the island. Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, the surgeon, and nine men being in the barge, and Lieutenant Hamilton, Mr Campbell, a midshipman, and six men in

the yawl. They steered for a cape or head-land, apparently twenty or thirty leagues distant; but a great swell and heavy gale soon came on, and they could no longer keep the head of the boats to the cape: the men were obliged to sit close together to windward to receive the seas on their backs, and prevent them from filling the boats, which was every moment expected. They were forced to throw every thing overboard to lighten the boats; all the beef, and even the grapnel, to save them from sinking. Night was approaching, and they were fast driving towards a lee shore, where the sea broke in the most frightful manner: No one conceived that the boats could live in such a sea. In this situation they neared the land, expecting to be beat to pieces by the first breaker, when they perceived a small opening between the rocks, which introduced them to a harbour as smooth as a mill-pond. The yawl had got there previously, and the joy of both parties was extreme at meeting again after so unlooked-for a deliverance.

They got on shore, but though wet and shivering, were obliged to pass the night wanting fire; and the frost coming on with morning, it was impossible to get a moment's sleep. All the provision being lost, and nothing to be found here, they put to sea, and reached a small swampy island, where bad weather confined them several days.

They continued running along the coast, generally without any thing to eat except sea-tangle; and at length ate the shoes from their feet, which consisted of raw seal skin. Soon after what they judged to be Christmas day, the weather being extremely bad, all hands went ashore, except two in each boat, who were left as boat-keepers. Mr Byron was on this duty along with another man,



and the yawl lay between them and the shore at a grapnel. Through the night it blew extremely hard, and a great sea tumbled in on the shore; those in the barge, overcome by fatigue, fell asleep. At last Mr Byron was awakened by the excessive motion of the boat, and the roaring of the breakers around him; and at the same time, he heard a shrieking as of persons in distress. Then looking out, he saw the yawl upset by a sea, and she soon afterwards disappeared. Dreading the same fate, he and his companions struggled to row the barge without the breakers, and there letting go their grapnel, lay the whole of the next day starving with hunger and cold.

The day following the weather admitted of their going near the shore, when their companions threw them some seal's liver, which they greedily devoured. But after suffering severely from excessive sickness, their whole skin peeled off from head to foot. Whilst the others were on shore, Lieutenant Hamilton met with a sea lion, and fired a brace of balls into its body. The animal on this turned open-mouthed upon him, and he quickly fixing his bayonet, thrust it down its throat with considerable part of the barrel of his gun, which the creature bit asunder, with as much apparent ease as if it had been a twig, and then got clear off.

The yawl thus being lost, and the barge too small to carry off all the men, it was indispensable to leave four of them behind. Indeed from the fatigues, dangers, and distresses already endured, it was almost a matter of indifference to the others whether to embark, or take their chance in this country. Four marines remained, to whom arms, ammunition, and some necessaries, were distributed. At parting they stood on the beach, and gave

three cheers to their comrades ; and a short time after they were seen helping one another over a hideous tract of rocks. In all probability they met a miserable end.

The rest of the adventurers rowing along still made an attempt to double the cape in view. A terrible sea was running there, breaking at more than half a mile from the shore ; the swell carried the barge in upon the breakers, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the people could row her off again. They found it impossible to double the cape, and after remaining all night at the bay, where their four companions had left them, they determined to return to Wager's Island.

Here they were so fortunate as to kill some seals, which served for stock, and then proceeded on their voyage. This stock did not last the whole time, and the last three or four days they fed only on sea-weed and tangle. They arrived, after having been out on this fruitless expedition exactly two months. To their surprise, one of the huts was found nailed up, and on breaking it open, they concluded from the iron work collected within, that the Indians had been there. On further examination, they found thrown aside, in the bushes behind one of the huts, some pieces of seal, which, though putrid, they did not reject.\*

The next thing which the people very seriously set about, was going to Mount Misery, to bury the corpse of the murdered person already alluded to : for having neglected this necessary tribute, the men assigned all their ill success on the late expedition.

This unfortunate company were again driven to the greatest necessities, owing to the extreme bad weather, which precluded them from obtaining

food. Wild celery was the sole article they could procure, which raked their stomachs instead of assuaging their hunger; and as a palliation of the misery they endured already, the last resource of sacrificing one for preservation of the rest began to be mentioned in whispers. In fact, there were some among them, who from constantly eating their food raw, were little better than cannibals.

Happily, the execution of this proposal was prevented, by Lieutenant Hamilton finding some pieces of rotten beef cast up by the sea at a distance from the tents, which he generously brought and distributed among his companions. About fifteen days after their return, a party of Indians came in two canoes, and were astonished to find them again. Among them was a chief, or cacique, of the tribe of the Chonos, who live in the neighbourhood of Chiloe. He spoke the Spanish language, but with such a savage accent, as almost to be unintelligible. Mr Elliot the surgeon, being master of a few Spanish words, contrived to explain that the design of the Wager's people was to reach some of the Spanish settlements, but that they were unacquainted with the safest way, or what track would afford subsistence during the journey. Further, he signified that if the chief would undertake to conduct them in the barge, he should have it, and every thing in it for his trouble. To these conditions, the cacique, after much persuasion, agreed.

Accordingly, he and his servant accompanied the remainder of the Wager's people, being thirteen, in the barge. Sixteen, it is true, had arrived from their expedition, but two of these had since perished of hunger; and a third, a marine, having committed theft, ran off to the woods to escape punishment, and was never again heard

of. The two Indian canoes followed them: in one was a savage with his two wives, who had an air of dignity superior to the rest, and had a separate hut during his residence in Wager's Island. The others seemed to pay him extraordinary respect; but in two or three nights, he went somewhere to the southward.

On the second day, the barge reached the bottom of a great bay, where the cacique had left his wife and two children in a hut; and in two or three days, which were employed in anxiously searching for shell-fish along the coast, the English embarked, accompanied by the Indian family. The cacique conducted them to a river, where the current was so rapid, that after struggling hard to get up, they were obliged to return. Mr Byron had hitherto steered the boat; but one of the men dropping down, and dying of fatigue, he was obliged to take his oar. While thus engaged, John Bosman, who was considered the stoutest man among them, fell from his seat under the thwarts, complaining that his strength was quite exhausted from want of food, and that he should soon expire. While he lay in this manner, he would, every now and then, break out into the most pathetic wishes for some little sustenance, expressing, that two or three mouthfuls might be the means of saving his life. At this time, the captain had a large piece of boiled seal by him, and was the only one in possession of any thing like a meal. But they were become so hardened to the sufferings of others, from their own, and so much familiarized to similar scenes of misery, that the poor man's dying entreaties were vain. Mr Byron sat next him when he dropped, and having about five or six dried shell-fish in his pocket, put one from time



to time in his mouth, which only served to prolong his misery. From this, however, death released him, soon after his benefactor's little supply was exhausted. For him, and the other man, a grave was made in the sand.

It would have greatly redounded to the tenderness and humanity of Captain Cheap, if he had remitted somewhat of that attention which he testified to self-preservation, and spared in those exigencies what might have been wanted, consistently with his own necessities. He had better opportunities of recruiting his stock than the others, for his rank was an inducement to the Indian guide to supply him, when he could not find a bit of anything for the rest. On the evening of the same day, he produced a large piece of boiled seal, of which he suffered no one, except the surgeon, to partake. His fellow-officers did not expect it, as they had a few small mussels and herbs to eat; but the men could not suppress the greatest indignation at his neglect of the deceased, saying, that he deserved to be deserted for such savage conduct.

The cacique departed in the canoe, along with his family, in quest of some seal; which excursion would last three or four days. This interval the English employed in traversing the coast for shell-fish, but meeting with bad success, they returned towards the barge. Six of the men, however, and the cacique's servant, having advanced a few paces before the others, got into the barge and put off, leaving their unfortunate companions overwhelmed with astonishment at their treachery.

All the difficulties hitherto experienced, seemed light in comparison with a blow so unexpected; for independent of being thus betrayed, every thing that might have contributed to preserve their lives

was carried away in the boat. When the cacique arrived, his first question was concerning the barge and his servant; and concluding from the unsatisfactory answers, that the latter had been murdered, he began to dread that the same fate awaited himself and his family. He was assured notwithstanding, that the servant would return, which altered his determination of speedy departure. Fortunately, it happened by chance as had been said, for the Indian contrived to make his escape from the barge, and returned overland, by ways impervious to any one but such as himself.

Being deprived of the stipulated reward, another was substituted, in a fowling-piece of Mr Byron's, and some little articles belonging to Captain Cheap. As they were then on an island, it was settled that the canoe should be hauled across to a bay on the other side, from whence the cacique should go in quest of some other Indians, whom he expected to join him; but as it would carry no more than three or four persons, he thought it advisable to take only Captain Cheap and Mr Byron along with him, and leave his wife and children behind as hostages, with their companions.

Mr Byron had to assist in rowing the canoe, and after two days hard labour, they landed at night near six or seven wigwams. The cacique conducted Captain Cheap into one of them, but Mr Byron was left to shift for himself. He ventured to creep into the next wigwam on his hands and knees, for the doors of these buildings are too low to admit of any other kind of entrance. There he found two women, one young and handsome for an Indian, the other old and hideous; he sat down by the fire to dry his rags, and they began to laugh and chatter immoderately. But observing his cold

and wet condition, they seemed to have compassion for him, and the old woman going out, returned with a quantity of wood for the fire. He then signified his desire, that they would extend their hospitality a little farther, and bring him something to eat; on which, the young one rummaging below some pieces of bark, in a corner of the wigwam, produced a fine large fish. Having made a meal of this, he lay down to sleep on some dry boughs which they spread for him, and on awaking, found that the young woman had carefully covered him with a piece of blanket, made of the down of birds, which is usually wore about the waist by the women.

All the men of this village, except one or two, were absent on an expedition, either of war or hunting; their return was soon expected, and in the mean time, Mr Byron enjoyed good fare, provided for him by his two hostesses. The occupation of the women being to provide fish, he accompanied these two in a canoe, which was attended by three others. When in about eight or ten fathom water, they lay on their oars, and the youngest of the two women, taking a basket between her teeth, dived to the bottom, where she remained a surprising time. After filling it with sea eggs, she rose to the surface, and delivering it to the rest of the women in the canoe, they emptied it of its contents. Then taking a short time to breathe, she went down again, and repeated the same several times in the course of half an hour. The water was extremely cold, and when the divers returned to the boats, they seemed quite benumbed; however, they continued rowing until towards evening, when they landed on a point, where they erected wigwams. Here

Mr Byron enjoyed the hospitality of the two women as before ; but having embarked in two days again, they landed, and then descried the canoes of the men returning from their expedition. The alteration which their arrival was to produce in the state of affairs, was presaged by the melancholy visible in the countenance of his young hostess ; and she endeavoured to express herself very earnestly to him, though his ignorance of the language prevented him from understanding her.

When the men came ashore, she and the old woman approached an elderly Indian man of a remarkably stern and forbidding appearance, which was evinced by the signs of dread apparent in them. He seemed to be a chief or cacique, and the two Indian women proved to be his wives. His dissatisfaction was clearly shown after some conversation ; and presently breaking ~~out~~ into a savage fury, he took up the young woman in ~~his arms~~, and brutally dashed her against the ground. Mr Byron was forced, with regret, to behold the injuries inflicted on his benefactress, and he could hardly restrain his resentment ; but the apprehension of adding fuel to the flame, and his peculiar situation, prevented him from interposing.

The cacique now carried Captain Cheap and Mr Byron back to their companions, intimating that the same Indians they saw would join them in a few days, when they should all set out in a body to the northward. They found the surgeon, Mr Elliot, in a bad way, and Lieutenant Hamilton and Mr Campbell almost starved. Their only food was a sparing supply of sea eggs, brought up by the wife of the cacique, which she dealt out with as much haughtiness as to slaves. Captain Cheap's



conduct contributed to keep them in an abject situation, and they endured many hardships from that alone. These were somewhat relieved by the arrival of the Indians and a more plentiful supply of provisions obtained, consisting both of birds and seal. In the distribution of their favours, however, they testified much caprice; yet the two women who had formerly been so hospitable to him still contrived to relieve his necessities in secret, and even at the utmost hazard of their own safety. Though the toil and danger of procuring food lies entirely with the women, they are not allowed to touch any portion of it until the husband is satisfied, and then he assigns them what is, in general, but a very scanty portion, and such as he cannot himself consume. They exercise an arbitrary and despotic power over their wives.

About the middle of March, the Wager's people embarked along with the Indians: no two of them were put into the same canoe. The oar fell to the lot of Mr Campbell and Mr Byron: Lieutenant Hamilton could not row, and Captain Cheap was out of the question. The surgeon lay at the bottom of the canoe in which he was put, and died in the course of the same day. He was a strong, active young man, and, at setting out, promised the fairest to survive, and had undergone an infinite degree of fatigue; but at last died, as many had done before him, of absolute starvation. His comrades scraped a hole in the sand to receive his body.

After crossing a great bay, the canoes were emptied, and carried over a small neck of land to a river, up which they rowed two or three days, when they came to a carrying-place. The Indians had provided themselves with seal; but Mr Byron, and most of the others, had nothing but a disagree-

able tasted root, on which nourishment Mr Byron had been three days at the oars. His shirt had now rotted off by bits, and his clothes, which were few, were quite in rags.

The canoes were taken to pieces, and each man and woman of the party, except Captain Cheap, had something to carry. Mr Byron had a piece of wet heavy canvas to carry for him, in which was wrapped a piece of putrid seal, which had that morning been given to him by some of the Indians. The way was through a thick wood and quagmire, often taking them up to the knees, and stumps of trees in the water obstructing their progress; their feet were wounded, besides, with the ruggedness of the ground. Mr Byron, whose load was equal to what a strong healthy man might have carried, was left behind by two Indians who accompanied him. Alarmed lest the whole should be too far advanced for him to overtake them, he strove to get up; and, in his exertions, fell off a tree crossing the road into a deep swamp, where he narrowly escaped drowning. Quite exhausted with the labour of extricating himself, he sat down under a tree, and there gave way to melancholy reflections. Sensible that, if he indulged them in inactivity, his companions could not be overtaken, he marked a great tree, and depositing his burden, hastened after them. In some hours he came up, and Captain Cheap began asking for his canvas; and on being told the disaster that had befallen Mr Byron, nothing was heard but grumbling for the loss. He made no answer, but, resting himself a little, rose and returned at least five miles for the burden, with which he returned just as the others were embarking to cross a great lake, which seemed to wash the foot of the Cordilleras. He was left behind to

wait the arrival of some more Indians, without a morsel of food, or even a part of the putrid seal that had cost him such anxiety.

Quite exhausted, he returned to the wood, and there lying down, fell asleep. Having awakened before day, he heard, as he conceived, some voices at no great distance; and the approaching light allowing him to see further into the wood, he observed a wigwam. He advanced towards it, and stooping to get admission, received two or three kicks in the face, which were an effectual repulse; and at the same time he heard the sound of voices seemingly in anger. This made him retire to the root of a tree, where he waited till an old woman peeped out and made signs for him to draw near. He found three men and two women within, the elder of whom gave him a small piece of seal, which he greedily swallowed whole, being almost starved.

As these ~~Indians~~ were strangers, he did not know which way they were going; but he comprehended from signs that they intended to go northward. They all went out of the wigwam, except one who was sick, and embarked in a canoe, where Mr Byron was employed at the oar. In the evening they landed at a place, where he passed a miserable night in the open air, as they would neither give him food nor allow him to enter their wigwams. Next morning the voyage was continued, and the canoe went down the river at a great rate until night, when she was hauled up on a stony beach. All the Indians disappeared that moment: the rain fell heavy, and it was extremely dark. Mr Byron lay down on the beach, half in the water in a manner, in which uncomfortable situation he fell asleep. In three or four hours he

awaked under such severe agonies from the cramp, that he expected to die on the spot. Raising himself on his knees, for he could not get up on his legs, he saw a large fire at some distance from him in the wood; and making a great effort to crawl thither, almost threw himself into it, in hopes of obtaining some relief. This gave much offence to the Indians, who immediately began to kick and beat him away; nevertheless, he at length gained a situation where he derived some benefit from it.

In the morning they all embarked, and having gained the sea, put ashore at a place where limpets abounded. Mr Byron, though nearly famished, stored himself abundantly in haste, without eating; and having sat down to the oar, began to eat them from his hat. The Indians were engaged in the same occupation, when one of their number observing him throw the shells into the water, spoke to the rest in a violent passion, and fell upon him, and twisting an old ragged handkerchief about his neck, nearly strangled him. Another seizing his legs, was about to throw him overboard, if the old woman had not prevented them. All this time he was quite ignorant of the cause of offence, until observing that the Indians carefully collected the limpet shells in a heap at the bottom of the canoe, he concluded that they were restrained by some superstition from throwing them into the sea. Therefore he resolved to eat no more limpets before he landed, at which time he noticed that the Indians took all the shells ashore, and laid them above high-water mark. Notwithstanding the wrath they had shown, when Mr Byron had now plucked some berries, which he was about to eat, they hastily snatched them out of his hand, signifying that they were of a poisonous nature.



In two days, Mr Byron joined the other officers of the *Wager*; yet no signs of pleasure were evinced on either side, and the usual occupation of rowing was continued. Sometimes after a whole day's hard toil, he and Mr Campbell had to traverse miles of the shore, in search of a scanty sustenance; and passed the night on the cold beach while it hailed or snowed. At length they were so much emaciated, as hardly to have the shape of men, and covered with vermin; but they were clean in comparison to Captain Cheap, whose body could only be compared to an ant hill: and he was past attempting to rid himself of the torment. His mind seemed quite enfeebled; he forgot the names of those about him, and even his own; his beard was as long as a hermit's; it and his face were besmeared with train oil, from sleeping on a bag, by way of pillow, which contained pieces of putrid seal. This he adopted to prevent the others from getting at it. His legs resembled posts, though his body appeared to be nothing but skin and bone.

As only one canoe intended to accompany the cacique any farther, he proposed taking Lieutenant Hamilton into his own, which was rejected, for the insolence of the cacique was become quite insupportable, and Lieutenant Hamilton rather preferred staying where he was, until some other chance should enable him to get forward, which did not occur for months.

The rest got to the northward by slow degrees, but with no diminution of their hardships, and at last reached an island about thirty leagues south of Chiloe. There they waited two days for a favourable opportunity to cross a bay, the very thoughts of which seemed to frighten the cacique out of his senses; nor were his apprehensions with-

out reason, for a dreadful hollow sea was running, dangerous for any boat whatever, but a thousand times more so for a frail canoe. A terrible passage ensued; the bottom-plank of the canoe was split, and opened upon every sea; and the water, constantly running over the gunwale, in a manner filled her the whole way over, though all hands were incessantly employed in baling. Drawing near the shore, the cacique's eagerness to land had like to have proved destructive; for his terror at the danger of this run almost led him among the breakers, where every soul must have perished, particularly as it was in the night. Thus the canoe kept off until she got into smooth water, and then landed on an uninhabited part of the island of Chiloe.

The party staid here the whole day following, and, embarking towards evening, sailed until nine at night, when something having the appearance of a house was seen, to the great joy of Mr Byron and his friends. It belonged to an acquaintance of the cacique, who got the fowling-piece loaded, and requested to be shewn the method of discharging it. Standing up, he held his head as far away as possible, and, having fired, fell back into the bottom of the canoe. The Indians left their house in alarm, and ran into the woods, until one, bolder than the rest, came to reconnoitre the strangers. The cacique made himself known, and a plentiful meal was supplied, the first which most of the party had enjoyed for many months. He also obliged an inhabitant of the place to open his door and make a large fire, for the weather was very severe, being the depth of winter in that country.

The Indians flocked about the English; they were unable to comprehend what nation they belonged to, never having heard of Great Britain;

nevertheless, they vied with each other in who should treat them with most care and attention. Though it was now midnight, they killed a large sheep, with which the poor half-starved people were fed. After they could eat no longer, they lay down to repose. In the morning, the women came from far and near, each carrying something in her hand, and the strangers, again beginning to eat, occupied themselves in this manner for the best part of the day.

A messenger had been dispatched to the Spanish corregidor at Castro, with information of the arrival of the officers. In three days he returned, and they were conducted to a certain place, where a guard of Spaniards received them, consisting of three or four officers and a number of soldiers, who all surrounded the three helpless people, yet hardly able to stand, as if they had been a formidable enemy. Soon afterwards several boats came to carry them to Castro, where they arrived the evening of the same day that they embarked. On approaching the town, a great deal of ceremony was used in hailing, and asking for the keys, as if there had been a regular fortification. After the boats had lain some time on their oars, the officers landed, but without being able to discover any thing like walls or a fortification; and, as they walked up a steep hill to the town, the way was lined with men who had broomsticks on their shoulders instead of muskets, and lighted matches in their hands.

In a conversation with the corregidor, little or nothing could be understood on either side for want of an interpreter; but he provided a plentiful supper, which was more interesting to the officers, who speedily dispatched more than ten men

could have done. They ate to such excess, that it was surprising no injury ensued ; they never felt satisfied, and, for months afterwards, took all opportunities of filling their pockets when unseen, that they might get up two or three times in the night to cram themselves. Captain Cheap, for his part, was wont to declare that he was quite ashamed of himself. The officers were then carried to the Jesuits' college, where the corregidor desired the superior to find out what religion they were of, or whether they had any. He then retired, and, the gates being shut, they were carried into a cell. There they found something like beds on the floor, and a shirt to each, clean, though ragged, which was esteemed a great treasure, after what they had endured.

In the morning, the superior sent for Captain Cheap, and a kind of conversation was carried on in Latin, probably not very good on either side. When he returned, he told the other officers that the chief subject was relative to what articles of value they might have saved, and had concealed about them, and, if it were so, they could not do better than give them to him and his fellow Jesuits. At this time religion was entirely out of the question, but a day or two afterwards, the corregidor, learning that the English were heretics, desired the Jesuits to convert them. One of the fathers told him, that it was quite ludicrous to attempt it, as on that island they could have no inducement to change their religion ; when they got to such a delightful country as Chili, however, where there were nothing but diversions and entertainment, they would be converted fast enough.

On the eighth evening, the son of the governor of Chaco arrived with thirty soldiers, to conduct



the officers thither. That night they rode eight miles to a farm house belonging to an old lady, who had two very handsome daughters. There they were well entertained, and the old lady sent a message to the governor, desiring his permission for Mr Byron to return, and reside a month with her. In three days they reached Chaco, which they entered with the same ceremonies as at Castro, excepting that a few of the line of soldiers truly had match-locks. On the journey, the soldiers had given a pompous account of the governor's palace, which was found to be little better than a thatched barn, partitioned into several rooms.

In a week or two, the officers had liberty to walk about the town, where they experienced much civility: a table was always spread by the inhabitants, who thought they could never eat enough after what they had suffered. They were in general a charitable well-disposed people, but very ignorant and governed by their priests, who made them believe just what they pleased. The women had fine complexions, and many of them were very handsome.

Some time after they reached Chaco, a snow arrived from Lima, the crew of which consisted of above thirty hands. Before the captain had been a week here, he came to the governor with a melancholy countenance, and told him that he had not slept a wink since he came into the harbour, as the three English prisoners were at liberty, instead of being confined; and that he every moment expected them to board his vessel, and carry her off. The governor assured him, that he would be responsible for the prisoners, and that he might sleep in quiet. His fears were not dispelled; he

used the utmost dispatch in disposing of his cargo, and put to sea again, not thinking himself safe until he lost sight of the island.

About three months after the officers arrived, Lieutenant Hamilton was brought in by a party, which the governor had sent for him. He was in a wretched condition until recruited by good living.

The governor carried the strangers on an annual tour, which he makes through the districts of his government; in the course of which Mr Byron visited the old lady near Castro, and lived three weeks with her. Among other houses that he visited was that of an old priest, esteemed one of the richest persons in the island. He had a niece on whom he doated, and had bestowed such pains on her education, that she was considered among the most accomplished young ladies of Chiloe. Her person was good, though she was not a regular beauty. Casting an amorous eye on Mr Byron, she first proposed to her uncle to convert him, and then begged his consent to marry him. The old man's affection for his niece induced his ready acquiescence to her wishes, and on the next visit acquainted him with the lady's design. He unlocked many chests and boxes before him; first shewing what a number of fine clothes his niece had, and then exhibiting his own wardrobe, which he said should be Mr Byron's at his death. Among other things he produced a piece of linen, engaging, that it should immediately be made up into shirts for his use. Mr Byron felt this last article a great temptation, yet he had the resolution to withstand it; and declined the honour intended him, with the best excuses he was able to frame.

A ship annually arrives at Chaco from Lima,

which induces people to flock to the town from all parts of the country to purchase the commodities which she brings. This vessel arrived towards the middle of December 1742, and on the second of January 1743, the officers embarked in her. She was a fine ship, deeply laden, insomuch that the sea continually washed her decks: the captain was a Spaniard, quite ignorant of maritime affairs; the crew all Indians and negroes. But the latter being slaves were never suffered to go aloft, lest they should fall overboard, and the owners lose their value by the accident. The superior of the Jesuits went as a passenger: to him and Captain Cheap the great cabin was allotted; and the other officers were obliged to sleep on deck during the whole voyage.

Having made the land near Valparaiso, a great western swell hurried the ship in towards the shore, and considerable alarm prevailed among those on board. The Jesuit left his cabin for the first time, as he had hitherto been sea-sick; and no sooner learned the danger, than he returned and brought out the image of some saint, which he desired might be hung up in the mizen-shrouds. This being done, he continued threatening it, that if a breeze did not soon come, he would throw it overboard. A short time afterwards, there was a little wind from the land, when the Jesuit carried the image back with an air of great triumph, saying he was certain that it would not be long before there should be wind, though he had given himself up as lost some time before it came.

The officers were carried ashore at Valparaiso, and put in the condemned hole in the fort, and a centinel, with a fixed bayonet, posted at the door. In a few days, Captain Cheap and Lieutenant Ha-

milton were conducted to St Jago, but Mr Byron and Mr Campbell were left in prison, where they were supplied with very scanty fare, although their case was represented to the governor. However, the people of the place charitably provided for their wants, and even the centinel who stood over them, laid aside half his pay for their sustenance during some weeks that they were confined, though he had a wife and six children. An unexpected opportunity occurred two years afterwards of making a recompence for his consideration. One night while they were locked up here, there was a dreadful shock of an earthquake, and every moment they thought the walls of the prison would fall in, and crush them to pieces; and what added to their horror, was hearing the noise of the chains and imprecations of nearly seventy felons in an adjoining cell.

Mr Byron and his companion were marched up to St Jago, the capital of Chili, ninety miles distant from Valparaiso. A master muleteer, conveying quantities of goods, was entrusted with conducting them. He, impressed by Mr Byron's attention in collecting the strayed mules, seriously advised him not to think of remaining in St Jago, where there was nothing but extravagance, vice, and folly, but to join with him as a mule driver, and enjoy a contented innocent life.

At St Jago, they were treated with hospitality and attention, and immediately after their arrival, a Spanish officer, of Admiral Pizarro's squadron, Don Manuel de Guiros, generously offered them two thousand dollars. They accepted of six hundred, though only on condition that he would take their draught on the English consul at Lisbon. With this sum they got themselves suitably equip-



ped, and being on their parole, amused themselves as they chose about the city, and they had also liberty, on asking it, to make excursions into the country during ten or twelve days at a time.

When they had remained here two years, during which period Mr Campbell changed his religion, and left the other three, the governor informed them that a French ship, bound from Lima to Spain, had put into Valparaiso, and that they should embark in her. Accordingly they made a more agreeable journey thither than from it, and had now nothing to do with the governor and his fort.

About the 20th of December 1744, they embarked in the vessel, which was a frigate called the *Lys*, belonging to St Maloe, and reached the Bay of Conception on the 6th of January 1745. In the beginning of February the ship sprung a dangerous leak, which required all hands at the pumps, and obliged them to return to Valparaiso to get it stopped.

On the first of March they again sailed, and on the 29th of June made the island of Tobago. Near Porto Rico two English men-of-war came in sight, when it fell stark calm: the Frenchmen were so much frightened that they intended running their ship ashore if a breeze sprung up. Towards evening the wind freshened, and the two ships having it first quickly neared them. Every one was now busily employed in saving what was most valuable about their persons, and many came to Mr Byron with small lumps of gold, requesting him to take them, rather than they should fall into the hands of strangers. Mr Byron told them it was time enough, though he looked for nothing less than being taken. A fine moonlight night

ensued, but in the morning the vessels were not to be seen.

Towards the end of August, a French squadron arrived at Cape François in St Domingo, where the officers lay, and all sailed early next month, conveying a fleet of fifty merchantmen. A Jamaica privateer hove in sight, and kept to windward with the view of intercepting some of the convoy, when the French commodore ordered them all to keep close to him in the night. This occasioned frequent accidents, to avoid which, a fine ship of thirty guns, belonging to Marseilles, hauled somewhat to windward, a little out of the rest of the fleet. The commodore having observed this in the morning, ordered the frigate to carry her captain on board of him, and, then making a signal for all the convoy to close around, he fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at the ensign-staff. Immediately after, the captain of the merchantman was run up to the main-yard-arm, and from thence ducked three times. He was then sent on board his own ship again, with orders to keep his colours flying the whole day to distinguish him from the rest. The victim of this cruel treatment was said to be a young man of good family in the south of France, and, as he also possessed great spirit, he would not fail to call the commodore to account, at a suitable opportunity.

On the 31st of October, the *Lys* came to an anchor in Brest Road, and having a valuable cargo on board, was towed into the harbour next morning, and lashed alongside one of the men-of-war. The money she contained, amounting to two millions of dollars, was soon landed, and the officers and men, being impatient to get on shore,

left nobody on board except the three English prisoners, and a man or two to look after the ship.

Hearing that there was a Dutch ship at Morlaix ready to sail, they repaired to that town, and agreed with the master to land them at Dover, for which they paid him before-hand. The passage was long and uncomfortable; on the ninth day, before sun-set, they came in sight of Dover, and reminded the Dutchman of his promise, to land them there. He said it should be done, but in the morning, they found themselves off the coast of France. They complained loudly of this piece of duplicity, and insisted on his returning to land them, when an English man-of-war appeared to windward, and immediately bore down upon the Dutch vessel; she proved to be the Squirrel, commanded by Captain Masterson, and sent her boat, with which the three officers returned on board. Captain Masterson, without delay, sent one of the cutters he had with him, to land them at Dover, where they arrived the same afternoon; thus reaching their native country, after a series of extraordinary hardships and adventures, protracted above five years.

## HARDSHIPS SUFFERED

BY PART OF THE CREW OF THE WAGER MAN-OF-WAR, AFTER THEIR DEPARTURE FROM WAGER ISLAND, 1741.

WE have already seen the deplorable consequences attending the wreck of the Wager, and the evils which sprung from want of unanimity in her people. Independent of the casualties occurring during their abode in the island, of twenty who embarked along with Captain Cheap, to go to the northward, only himself and other two arrived in England, and that not until whole years had elapsed. But to view the full extent of the disasters, which dissension and insubordination chiefly produced, it is necessary to follow, in few words, the course of those who endeavoured to gain a passage towards England, by going to the southward. Although the highest degree of censure is merited by the crew of this unfortunate vessel, it is impossible to acquit Captain Cheap of the most culpable indiscretions; those which seem to have added fuel to the flame, and were the source of ~~cruel and~~ miserable consequences.

On the 13th of October, 1741, the long-boat and cutter sailed with eighty-one persons from Wager's Island, leaving the captain behind, but within a few days, Mr Byron and several people



who had embarked returned to him. There were then above seventy in the two vessels, whose purpose was to go to the southward, by the straits of Magellan. They rowed and sailed along the shore, until the 29th, when it blew so hard, that the long-boat was obliged to take the cutter in tow. Next day half a piece of beef was served out to each man. The one following, those in the boat felt very uncomfortable from being pent up in so little room; and the effluvia from the men's wet clothes, rendered the air below so nauseous, that it was almost intolerable.

On the third of November, the cutter came alongside, with her mainsail split; her people, on being desired, refused to take the tow-rope from the long-boat, saying, she would not bear towing from the swell of the sea. They also refused to go on board, that the cutter might be taken in tow, and would neither make sail nor row; while the long-boat lay a quarter of an hour in the trough of the sea, with a fair wind. Those in the boat finding them obstinate, at last hoisted a skirt of their mainsail; and the others finding they would not go into a bay as they wished, hoisted their mainsail, and went a-head. She kept a-head for two hours, and then steered in a direction for which the others could not account, because it was farther in-shore; and as it blew very hard, with a great sea, and nothing but rocks and breakers before them, the farther in, the sea ran the higher. In between two or three hours more, the cutter being on the beam of the long-boat, ~~four miles~~ nearer the shore, the latter bore away after her. A very heavy squall of wind and rain came on, in which she was lost sight of. The long-boat narrowly escaped going on shore, for she was sur-

rounded by rocks and breakers, and such a sea was running, that the oldest seamen on board never saw the like; and it was a considerable time before she reached a place of shelter. Here, however, the people were put to great inconvenience for want of a boat with which they could land; and on that account made a raft of oars and water barrels to carry three men. However, when put over the side of the vessel, it overset, and those upon it with difficulty were saved.

On the sixth of November, the cutter again appeared, and having come up, was made fast to the stern of the long-boat at night, with only two men in her, though four had always been left formerly. While blowing very hard, one of the men came on board the long-boat, and at two in the morning, the cutter broke adrift with the other, and was probably staved to pieces among the rocks.

The real disposition of the people in the long-boat could not be disguised; no less than seventy-two were there, yet hardly ten testified any anxiety about the welfare of the voyage, they rather seemed ripe for mutiny and destruction; and the lieutenant, invested with the command, as also the gunner and carpenter, who seemed to consider themselves officers of greater rank than their warrants entitled them to, remonstrated on their conduct. They told them that if they did not obey orders, they should be left to themselves, for their officers would rather take their chance in that desolate part of the globe, than give themselves farther concern about so many thoughtless wretches. The people promised to be under command, and appeared more quiet.

But on the eighth, four days before the usual

time, they insisted on having provisions served out; and although the inconvenience of breaking on the stores, the length and danger of the voyage, which might expose them to absolute starving, were all set before their eyes, they would not hearken to reason. The officers were therefore obliged to comply with their demands. Several of the people also desired to be put ashore with a few necessaries. They said they did not fear doing well, and had no doubt of finding the cutter, which if they did, they would go back to the northward; if not, they would make a canoe; and thus persisted in landing. Eleven people were left here, in the latitude of  $50^{\circ} 40'$ .

The long-boat then prosecuted her voyage, frequently in imminent danger. Sometimes the sea ran so high, that every wave threatened to swallow her up. In the afternoon of the tenth, she broached to, so that none on board believed she would ever rise again; they were surrounded with rocks within stone-cast, with a hurricane of wind, and thick rainy weather. It was impossible to keep the sea, and death staring them in the face, they were obliged to push through islands and breakers, until reaching a safe harbour, where the water was as smooth as a mill-pond. This they called the *Port of God's Mercies*, esteeming their preservation quite miraculous.

On Sunday the 15th, the people on board began to barter their allowance of provisions for other articles. Flour was valued at twelve shillings a pound, but, before night, it rose to a guinea. Some were now absolutely starving for want; and the day following, George Bateman, a lad of sixteen, expired, being reduced to a perfect skeleton. One of the men gave a guinea, which was all the mo-

ney he had, for a pound of flour ; but immediately afterwards they got ashore at a place where abundance of limpets, clams, and mussels, were to be found.

On the 19th, Thomas Capell, aged twelve years, son of the late Lieutenant Capell, died of want. A person on board had above twenty guineas of his money, along with a watch and a silver cup. The latter the boy wished to sell for flour ; but his guardian told him, it would buy clothes for him in the Brazils. “ Sir,” cried the miserable youth, “ I shall never live to see the Brazils, I am now starving ;—almost starved to death : therefore give me my silver cup for God’s sake, to get me some victuals, or buy some for me yourself.” But all his prayers and entreaties were vain, and Heaven sent death to his relief. Those who have not experienced such hardships, will wonder how people can be so inhuman as to witness their fellow-creatures starving before their faces without affording them succour :—but hunger is void of all compassion ; each person was so intent on his own preservation, as to disregard the value of another’s life, and the bowels of commiseration were closed.

On the same day, Captain Pemberton of the marines, gave two guineas for two pounds of flour, and the seamen who sold it procured mussels to support them. Many of them ate the flour raw, as soon as served out.

On the 30th three people died of hunger ; several more were hastening to the same end, not being able to go on shore in quest of sustenance, and those who were, could get nothing more than sufficient to support themselves ; therefore the sick were left destitute of all relief. It was to be remarked, that, some hours before those unfortu-



nate persons expired, they became delirious, and began to joke and laugh, in which mood they died.

But, during the earlier part of December, provisions were somewhat more abundant, and recruited this famished crew. They had, for a considerable time, been in doubt whether they were actually in the Straits of Magellan, and had altered their course, believing the reverse. On the sixth of this month they fell in with Indians, who supplied them with dogs, geese, and seal. These people were of middle stature, and well shaped; their complexion of an olive tawny colour, and their hair extremely black, but not long. They had round faces, small noses, their eyes small and black, and smooth even teeth of incomparable whiteness, close set. The women ran into the woods.

Continuing along shore until the 11th, the boat struck the ground on the ebbing of the tide and could not be got off. Luckily there was little wind, and smooth water, else she must have gone to pieces. In a short time she was quite dry; and, during the interval, all the water casks were got out of the hold, and put ashore to be filled. She floated again without damage, and four tons of water were taken on board.

Next day three men, riding on mules or horses, were seen on the land. They waved hats and made signals as if wishing the boat to go ashore; but the swell prevented it. Twenty appeared, five of whom were riding, and the others on foot, they had a great number of cattle with them. Who these persons were could not be ascertained, whether people who had been cast away, or natives of the country.

On the 15th the boat was abreast of Penguin Island, and then reached Port Desire, where the people killed a great quantity of seal and sea-fowl; more even than they could carry off. But they again began to be turbulent and restless, requiring flour to be served out, which, on taking the state of affairs in view, was considered a most unreasonable request. There was but one barrel of flour on board, and the intervening distance to Brazil was still very great. They carried their demands still higher, insisting that the marine officers, and other persons who could not be serviceable in working the boat, should have only half-allowance; and, accordingly, they pitched on twenty, to whom but half a pound of flour should be served, while they themselves were to have a whole one.

Having left Port Desire on the 25th, the people, on the 28th, received the whole flour in the boat, which amounted to three pounds and a half to each man. In a few days the seal taken in at Port Desire began to spoil, for there was no salt to cure it; and, while reduced to this sorry fare, the people were almost devoured by vermin.

On the 6th of January 1742, Thomas Harvey, purser of the Wager, died from want of food. But the survivors were soon after encouraged with hopes of the vicinity of land, for, on the 10th, by calculation, Cape St Andrew was thought to be not above thirteen leagues distant. No more than forty-three were now alive, and not above twenty of the number had even putrid seal to eat. They were poor miserable-looking objects, and only about fifteen healthy;—if people scarce able to crawl could be so denominated. The gunner, who was considered the strongest man in the boat,

could not stand ten minutes upright without holding. On this day, the 28th, Serjeant Ringall died of hunger.

Two days afterwards, having nothing on board to eat, and only one cask of water, the survivors carried the boat as near as possible to the shore, so that some of them might swim thither, as it was certain destruction to proceed farther without endeavouring to get provisions. Several of the healthiest, therefore, resolved to make the attempt, and fourteen leapt overboard, one of whom was drowned. When they got ashore they saw thousands of horses and dogs, the latter very large, and the former more numerous than the sheep on the plains of Dorset and Wiltshire. They got abundance of seal and armadilloes, and feasted in plenty, while those on board were absolutely famished; being forced to strip the hatches of a seal-skin that had sometime been nailed on, and devour it.

Next morning the people shot a horse and a dog, the horse was branded with two letters on the buttock, which made them conjecture that inhabitants were in the vicinity. They floated off three casks that had been taken ashore for water; and several swam to the ship, getting the horse and seal on board. No sooner was this done, than a sea-breeze arose, and blew so hard, that the boat was obliged to weigh and stand off the shore, leaving eight people behind. She then cast anchor a league distant, and lay all night, during which time the greatness of the sea carried away the rudder-head, and occasioned alarm for further accidents. Thus the people on board were, the following day, under the necessity of making sail without their comrades. They sent ashore, however, a scuttled puncheon, containing some wear-

ing apparel, four muskets, ammunition, candles, and other necessaries, along with a letter explaining the urgency of the danger, and the impossibility of riding out the gale until they could get off. They were seen to receive the cask and the letter, after which they fell on their knees, and made signals as if wishing their companions well. Probably they were not far from inhabitants, and they were well provided for shooting.

On Tuesday, the nineteenth of January, the adventurers supposed themselves well up the river Plate, and, in the evening, anchored in a fine sandy bay, where they saw two men on horseback. At this time there was not a single drop of water on board. The boatswain swam ashore and got up behind one of the men; and several of the people also swam ashore to get water. In coming off one of them was unfortunately drowned; but a cask was got on board, which greatly invigorated the rest.

The gunner and carpenter next went ashore, and met four of the inhabitants on horseback, who informed them, that the English were still at war with the Spaniards, and had several vessels cruizing on the coast; and that a seventy gun ship had, not above six weeks before, parted from her anchors, and drove ashore, where every soul perished. These people sold the seamen some bread, which they were glad to obtain at any price; they said they belonged to the town of Monte Video, which was two days journey distant, and promised to get some wild-fowl on being supplied with a musket: but, after getting it, the Wager's people, observing one of their party absent with his horse, were apprehensive that he had gone to betray



them, therefore, immediately returning on board, they soon set sail.

The master, and also his son, died on the 23d, and Thomas Maclean, the cook, who was the oldest man among them, being eighty-two years of age. Two days afterwards the survivors came to the Rio Grande, and anchored abreast of the town.

A boat came off with a serjeant and a soldier, with whom Lieutenant Beans, the gunner, carpenter, and Captain Pemberton, returned. They were immediately conducted to the house of the surgeon, the best in the place, where they were hospitably entertained. The governor then examined them, and thought their deliverance wonderful; he took the officers home with him, and gave orders that the carpenter, gunner, and the rest, should be properly treated, and sent the sick to the hospital.

On the afternoon of the 31st, the governor, commandant, and commissary, went on board to see the long boat, and were surprised that thirty souls, the number then alive, could be stowed in so small a vessel; but how she could contain the number that originally embarked in her, was utterly beyond their belief. Neither were they able to conceive how the man at the helm could steer without falling overboard, there being only four inches of rise.

On the 22d of March, a vessel being expected to sail in four days, preparations were made for about half the people taking a passage, there being room for no more. Provisions were laid in, and, on the 31st, they sailed with a fair wind for Rio Janeiro, where they anchored on the 10th of April.

Here they were carefully attended to by the governor, and well lodged; but the turbulence of the boatswain disquieted the rest, and he mo

with the seamen, instead of associating with the warrant-officers. Dissensions, however, that were the injury and destruction of this ill-fated crew from the beginning, still prevailed, and some now came to blows. One part of them, therefore, thought it expedient to go to the country; however, their house being soon attacked in the night, after insults suffered through the day, induced them to apply to be removed to the town, as a place of greater safety.

On their arrival, the governor had appointed a Dutch surgeon, who spoke English well, to act as their consul. Early on the morning of the 18th, he sent for the party that had gone to the country. He said, that the lives of three of them being in danger, and, as he did not know how far the villany of the boatswain might proceed against their peace and safety, he should endeavour to get these three into a ship bound for Bahia and Lisbon. Accordingly, he went to the governor, and got a place for the gunner, carpenter, and cooper, on condition of their working their passage home.

On the 20th of May, they embarked in one of the Brazil ships, carrying twenty-eight guns, bound for Bahia and Lisbon, leaving ten persons ashore. On board was a Spaniard, a passenger, who declared to the captain, that no Englishman should sail in a ship with him, and desired him to turn the three people ashore. But the captain insisted on doing what pleased himself on board of his own ship; and the Spaniard, after conversing with those to whom he was so hostile, was affected by the relation of their misfortunes, and said, that, although their respective kings were at war, they were not to be blamed for it; that they were now in a neutral vessel, belonging to a king who

was a friend to both nations; that he would not look upon them as his enemies, and, on the contrary, would do them all the service in his power. He bestowed high encomiums on the magnificence of the British fleet, and the valour and intrepidity of the sailors, whom he styled the soldiers of the sea. During the passage, he not only supplied them with provisions from his table, but also with wine and brandy; and gave other proofs of his generosity and goodness.

On the 7th of May they arrived at Bahia, where, being unable to obtain provisions from the governor, they were obliged to work for their bread. Yet all they could gain provided them with no more than one meal a-day, on which they would have almost starved, had they not been possessed of some articles, which they converted into money. Provisions were extremely dear, especially fish, which was ascribed to the great number of whales coming into the bay near where the ships lay at anchor. Eight or ten would sometimes be killed by the whale boats in a day, the flesh of which was cut up and brought to market for sale. It resembled coarse beef, but was inferior to it in taste. These whales were by no means like the Greenland whales, and did not exceed the size of a grampus.

After living here above four months without any assistance either from the governor or inhabitants, who behaved as if they had combined to starve them, the Englishmen embarked in the same ship that had brought them from Rio Janeiro. A new foresail was bent about seventy leagues west of Madeira, and after a hard gale, dedicated to a certain saint, on which occasion there was a collection made among the ship's company of above twen-



ty moidores. But on Monday the 23d of November, when in the vicinity of Lisbon, it came on a perfect storm; the foresail split, and the wind was right on the shore. The ship was given up for lost, and the people all fell to prayers, crying out to their saints for deliverance, and offering all they had in the world to save their lives; though at the same time they neglected every useful exertion, and left off pumping the ship, which was extremely leaky. The English, unaccustomed to such proceedings, entreated the people to stand by the pumps, for there was a chance of saving their lives by keeping the ship above water; and the captain, as also his officers, on hearing them, forsook their prayers, and seconded their entreaties. Thus the pumps were manned, and the ship preserved: the wind shifted half an hour afterwards, otherwise she must soon have infallibly drove ashore. This deliverance was piously ascribed to the same saint, and a collection made as before: and the people further declared, if the vessel arrived safe at Lisbon, the foresail should be carried to the church of the saint, where an offering by the captain should be made, equal to the value of the sail, which was worth eighteen moidores. And this accordingly did take place, within a very few days afterwards.

The Englishmen went ashore, and informed the gentlemen of the English factory that they were three of the people cast away in the Wager, and wished to embrace the first opportunity of getting home. They were told that the lieutenant was there before them, and had gone to England in the packet boat, leaving but an indifferent character of them. Nevertheless they were treated with much civility by their countrymen there; and on the 20th of December embarked in the Stirling Castle.



Nothing material occurred in the passage ; and, they prepared, on arriving at Spithead on the first of January, to go straight ashore to their families : however, the captain would not allow them to leave the ship without orders from the Admiralty. In a fortnight they were liberated, and returned to their native homes, after an absence of two years and six months.

## ADVENTURES

OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, AND SOME OF THE OFFICERS OF THE WAGER, 1741.

A REPORT having gained ground in England, that Alexander Campbell, one of the officers belonging to the *Wager*, had entered into the Spanish service, after surviving the perils of the shipwreck, he conceived it necessary, in self-justification, to confute the charge by a circumstantial narrative of all the concomitant incidents. This proved the more interesting, being the earliest and most unbiassed account of the deplorable calamity, and its disastrous issue. Here, however, it is necessary only to take a brief view of the relation in general, as corroborating or elucidating the state of the sufferers, and what was peculiar to the narrator himself.

Mr Campbell sailed as a midshipman on board the *Tryal* sloop, along with the fleet for South America, and was afterwards transferred, with the captain of that vessel, to the *Wager*, where he remained after Captain Cheap, another commander, was appointed.

While Mr Campbell was shifting himself in his berth between four and five in the morning of the 14th of May 1741, the *Wager* struck on the shoals environing a desert island. On feeling the shock,

he hastily ran up, asking what was the matter ; to which the master answered,—“ Nothing—only a great sea under the counter.” But the words were hardly spoken, when the ship struck again, with a more dreadful shock than before. Alarm was now universally disseminated, and all were running forward to get hands to wear her, when Mr Campbell observing breakers to leeward, that manœuvre was abandoned. The captain ordered the anchor to be let go, but the cable could not be cleared in time, and the ship continued to strike so hard that the tiller broke, while a great anchor belonging to the Centurion, lying in the main hatchway, went through her bottom. An attempt was next made to bring her close to the land, when she stuck fast between two rocks. Mr Campbell went to the captain, then lying in a miserable condition from the dislocation of his shoulder, and expressed his apprehension that the ship would very soon part ; but, instead of regarding his own safety, the captain answered, “ Go and save all the sick, and don’t mind me.” Every means was thus immediately adopted for preservation.

Yet the spirit of discord and dissension had already entered the people. Mr Campbell, after gaining the shore, having requested some of them to return in the yawl, for the purpose of carrying necessary articles from the ship, received a plain refusal. Being accompanied, however, by several of the petty officers, he told the captain, if he pleased to go on shore, the yawl was ready to carry him. He still declined leaving the ship, until informed that every one willing to go had landed : then raising himself in his bed, the others assisted him into the boat, and carried him ashore.

The captain was accommodated in a wretched

hut, found on the land, which proved a desert island; and, as soon as he got there, he ordered Mr Campbell to return to the ship, and endeavour to bring the remainder of the men ashore in the yawl. Mr Campbell found the utmost anarchy and disorder prevailing, and the whole crew in a state of mutiny; some of them even attempted to commit violence on himself, therefore he immediately got into the yawl and landed.

A heavy sea during the night occasioned the vessel to strain excessively, and the people became alarmed, lest every moment she might part. In their anxiety to get on shore, and from the spirit with which they were animated, they at length pointed a four-pounder lying on the quarter-deck, at Captain Cheap's hut, and the ball very narrowly missed it. The captain, not willing that so dangerous a proceeding should be repeated, ordered Mr Campbell and other three petty officers to bring the people ashore; but they found it impossible to approach the ship, owing to the mast lying alongside, and the height of the sea.

The people thus left on board, continued the commission of every outrageous disorder, and after plundering the property of the officers, got intoxicated with the liquors, whereby some fell into the water within the ship, and were drowned.

Next day, the captain renewed his orders to bring the whole ashore; but when the petty officers called for seamen to row the boat off, they refused, peremptorily declaring, "they would not go, for the ship was lost, and every one was at liberty to shift for himself."

Meantime, the men on shore began to bid defiance to their officers, mutinies ensued, and the calamities of shipwreck were heightened by tur-



bulence and anarchy. Though the captain expressed much concern for the safety of the people, the strongest animosities prevailed against him, and dissensions originated among the officers themselves.

Mr Campbell having attached himself to the captain, became the greater object of suspicion, so that he found it dangerous to express any thing in his favour. By an unfortunate misapprehension, as it would appear, of the designs of a midshipman, Mr Cozens, he was shot by Captain Cheap, whereupon the mutinous crew resolved to make him prisoner. Therefore, surprising him in bed in the morning, they led him out of his hut in his shirt, with his hands bound behind him, and confined him in another hut, under guard of an officer and six men. Mr Campbell repaired thither, but he was not permitted to speak to him alone, nor until he had been searched.

Part of the people having resolved on departing from the place of the shipwreck, Mr Campbell tried to persuade them to leave the barge, along with the yawl, for the captain's use, the former being too small to carry off those that adhered to him. They refused, however, and forsook the island, as has already been related. When at sea with them the following day, he represented how reproachful their conduct was, adding, that if they did get home, they should infallibly be hanged for mutiny; but if they returned to the captain, and attempted a voyage to the northward, their chance was infinitely preferable. Some of the number listening to this advice, and the gunner having now assumed a kind of command, ordered him to return with the barge to Wager Island, as the place of the shipwreck was now denominated. Mr By-

ron also accompanied him, and there were eight persons besides, who were gladly received by the captain on their arrival that same night.

Twenty persons now remained on this desolate spot, all of whom were in different capacities, entirely employed in repairing the two boats, or searching for provisions. Neither was the captain quite unoccupied, for he sought fresh water, wood for the fires, and stood the place of cook, in making up cakes of flour and water, mixed with sea-weed, and fried in grease. The whole were then reduced to great necessity, having nothing but sea-weed and tallow candles, or occasionally a few sea-fowl, shot from the yawl, until some casks of beef were recovered from the wreck.

The wretched condition of the survivors of the shipwreck, at length inspired them with the utmost anxiety to attempt a voyage to some inhabited country, or where at least they should be able to procure provisions. Thus they embarked in the barge and yawl, to sail to the northward, carrying a scanty subsistence along with them. But this they were soon compelled to throw overboard, to preserve their lives, in situations of the most imminent danger; and having with difficulty reached the shore, reposed unsheltered on the rocks, under the inclemency of rigorous weather.

Next day was one of incessant labour with the oars, the wind was adverse, and a high sea running. Under a heavy rain, the boats made towards some small low islands, with a swampy shore, where the people landed, and got the barge's mainsail for a kind of covering of a tent, though it proved of little service, and most of them took shelter under a great tree, beside a good fire. All

were employed in quest of food in the morning, except two marines, who were found lying in the wet, and almost dead with cold. Nevertheless, Mr Campbell was obliged to rouse them to seek subsistence for themselves.

On the sixth or seventh day of the voyage, and when about forty leagues from Wager Island, the captain had expended the whole flour taken with him for sea store; the weather was now tolerable, and he landed to pass the night, along with the others, on a shore which, from the hard lodging it afforded, he called *Stone Beach*. Yet the privations and necessities which the unfortunate men endured, could not quell the animosities which originally disturbed their tranquillity; and the lieutenant of marines having shot a shag, and ate it along with Mr Campbell, instead of sharing it with the captain and Mr Byron, according to agreement, occasioned great dissension.

The following morning, the people of the barge got under way without any intimation to the party in the yawl; but the latter having slept in her all night, were soon prepared also to put to sea. An unexpected breaker drove her ashore, when preparing to land on another occasion, and though her crew were greatly discomfited by this incident, and unable to launch her without unlading, those in the barge never offered the smallest assistance. Meantime, they were reduced to a miserable condition; they had neither meat nor drink, and their rags of clothes were drenched by the wet. Their expectations of any relief from their comrades in the barge were disappointed, for they even refused a little fresh water which they were known to have.

Some time afterwards, their hunger was relieved

by the capture of a young seal, which they dressed for dinner; and, after the repast, went on a shooting excursion. Unhappily, new disasters awaited their return, for, by a sudden shift of wind, the sea rolled over the boats, and the yawl, in which were two marines, was sunk by the third breaker. One of the men was drowned; Mr Campbell dragged the other out of the sea and saved him.

The misfortune of losing the yawl was of the most distressing kind; not only were all the arms and other articles of those belonging to her gone, but as the barge was too small to carry off the seventeen survivors, the cruel alternative of leaving four of the number was indispensable. Four marines were therefore abandoned on this desolate place, which seemed destitute of every thing from which they could derive subsistence: nevertheless the captain left arms, ammunition, and several other necessaries to them, whereby they might at least have the chance of preserving their lives. As the barge departed, the poor men standing on the beach gave their comrades three cheers, and cried, "God bless the king!" Though the hearts of the others melted with compassion, there was no remedy for the measure.

In six weeks, during which this voyage to the northward was prosecuted, Mr Campbell found himself provided with an old shirt, a pair of breeches, a waistcoat, and a hat, which constituted all his clothing. But now the difficulties incessantly encountered, induced the people to resolve on returning to Wager Island, which the whole reached in safety, after finding an Indian canoe by the way.

Remaining here fifteen days, some Indians arrived, who engaged to conduct the party to Chi-



loe: Immediate preparations were made for embarkation, and on the 6th of March, all, except a marine, who, afraid of punishment for an offence, had escaped to the woods, departed.

After suffering incredible hardships from famine, fatigue, and the want of shelter, during which the number of those who had embarked, was reduced to very few, Mr Campbell arrived with the Indians at the island of Chiloe. Captain Cheap was now in a deplorable condition; his legs were nothing but skin and bone; yet the skin was inflated so that they appeared of a monstrous size: the natives of Chiloe treated him with great care, making a bed of sheep-skins for him before the fire; and without such attentions, he could scarce have survived. Neither did they overlook the rest, who were supplied with food, and as comfortably accommodated as the huts of the natives would admit. The hospitality of the Spaniards, however, did not equal that of the poor unlettered Indians, for the English were removed to a hovel, where they were guarded by soldiers less humane and courteous than their former benefactors. Nevertheless, the Indians still continued their good offices, though the Spaniards did not even provide bedding to cover the wet ground.

The strangers were visited by many persons of the island: a Jesuit came, among others, who brought a bottle in his pocket, from which he gave them some spirits. Observing that Mr Campbell had a watch, the same left to him by the surgeon of the *Wager*, who had sunk under reiterated hardships, he asked to see it, and then requested it in exchange for an old one in his pocket, or that it might be sold to him. It was not difficult to discover the Jesuit's meaning, and considering the

influence of his order in countries professing Popery, and that disobliging him might be dangerous, Mr Campbell, by Captain Cheape's desire, presented him with the watch. He did not prove ungrateful, for he soon afterwards sent some clothes in return.

Being carried to Castro, the English were accommodated in the Jesuit's College, where everything was clean and decent; and they experienced good and hospitable treatment here for a week. Then they removed to another quarter, where they were joined by Lieutenant Hamilton, of the marines, who had left them on the way between Wager Island and Chiloe, whereby the party now consisted of him, Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Campbell.

In January 1743, they embarked in a Spanish ship, which arrived annually on a voyage from Lima, and soon arrived at Valparaiso, on the continent of South America. There they were at first confined in a dungeon, but liberated in a short time, and civilly treated by the inhabitants. Being still without money, and destitute of clothes, one of the Spanish officers offered the former on a bill, payable by the English consul at Lisbon. Hence all drew a joint bill for six hundred dollars on the commissioners of the navy, and addressed to the consul at Lisbon; but the captain having received the money, on sharing it, allotted only eighty dollars to Mr Campbell, which occasioned a misunderstanding between them. Mr Campbell, equally necessitous as the rest, and having jointly drawn the bill, thought it unjust that his share should be so much diminished under one hundred and fifty dollars, which Mr Byron, his fellow midshipman, received.

“When these officers had been nearly twelve months in this part of South America, a Mr William Lindsay, at Buenos Ayres, hearing of their condition, wrote to inform them, that if they wanted money, some belonging to him lay in the hands of a merchant at St Jago, the chief town of the country, on whom they might draw. They did so, and Captain Cheap received the money; but here also he refused Mr Campbell any share; therefore a separation ensued; nor did the latter accompany him home, when the opportunity of a passage in a vessel to Europe occurred.

On the 20th of January 1745, Mr Campbell left St Jago, along with four officers belonging to Admiral Pizarro's fleet, on a journey overland to Buenos Ayres. Next day they arrived at the foot of a lofty mountain, said to be the highest in the known world, and occupied five days in ascending it. The roads were narrow and winding, over the tops of vast precipices, and sometimes so narrow, that the mules employed had scarce seven inches whereon to set their feet. A great river full of rocks ran below, and the slightest false step was attended with irretrievable destruction. One of the mules tumbled down a precipice, but before reaching the bottom, both it and its lading of merchandize were dashed into a thousand pieces.

On gaining the summit of the mountain, all the company were penetrated by the excessive cold; and though in the midst of summer, two of the muleteers were frozen to death. The descent proved still more difficult than ascending, in which five days also were occupied. Twenty mules now and formerly were killed, or perished of hunger, for scarce any vegetation could be found on the mountain.

The travellers having finished this arduous task, halted three days at Mendoza, a small town, and then set out for Buenos Ayres, 400 leagues distant. Mr Campbell and the other officers continued riding on mules, but Admiral Pizarro and some others, travelled in large waggons drawn by oxen. Both these animals and the mules frequently died for want of water, which is extremely scarce, and the country is equally devoid of wood for shelter. It was necessary to carry a stock of water, and also provisions during the whole journey, which lasted seven weeks, when the travellers arrived at Buenos Ayres.

Here Mr Campbell met with three of the Wager's people, of which number was Isaac Morris, whose adventures are just about to be related, and they requested him, on his arrival in England, to give some account of them.

He immediately waited on the governor, Don Domingo Rosses, who invited him to dinner; but immediately afterwards, he was surprised to find himself confined to the fort, though he had been two years in Chili on parole. Here he remained thirty-six days, and was then enlarged to the boundaries of the town. Yet some time afterwards, he was again confined twenty-two days to the fort, on a groundless report of two English men-of-war coming up the River Plate.

While in Buenos Ayres, the governor of a Portuguese settlement, hearing of his residence, wrote a letter to him, accompanied by some presents, and offering a supply of money should he require it.

In August 1745, Mr Campbell was ordered by the governor of Buenos Ayres, to repair to Monte Video, and embark for Europe. He was there



treated with much more regard and attention than at Buenos Ayres, and was visited by the officers of the men-of-war, lying in the harbour, among whom were two Irish, and one Scottish captain, besides an English lieutenant, all belonging to Pizarro's fleet.

Monte Video was then a new settlement, with few inhabitants, and little trade; the citadel mounted 64 pieces of cannon, but the buildings of some other forts, then begun, was interrupted from want of money, or of necessary materials.

Mr Campbell remained at Monte Video, from the middle of August until the 13th of October, when he embarked in a Spanish man-of-war bound for Europe. Here he found sixteen English prisoners, who had been taken in the River Plate two years before. They belonged to the ship *Philip*, commanded by Captain Penkethman, with whom the Spanish went on board to trade; but they treacherously murdered him, and eight or nine of his people, and then made themselves masters of the vessel.

On reaching the coast of Portugal, the Spaniards were greatly alarmed at the sight of some ships, and immediately put Mr Campbell, as also the other prisoners, into confinement. The vessel had five millions of dollars on board, with a weak and sickly crew to protect them; therefore, the Spaniards had sufficient grounds for apprehension, which kept them three days and nights under arms.

After reaching Ferrol, Mr Campbell was ordered to Madrid, where he underwent an examination by one of the Spanish ministers, who testified a desire to know the particulars of Lord Anson's voyage. He answered, in general, that, from being only a petty officer in the fleet, he had no

other province than obeying the command of his superiors ; and he also refused entering into the service of the king of Spain, as inconsistent with the allegiance he owed to his own sovereign.

Having obtained a passport, and fifteen dollars, Mr Campbell next travelled to Lisbon from Madrid, though making an uncomfortable journey, from his slender stock of money, and the badness of the roads. There he embarked in the Edinburgh, Commodore Coates, and reached England, after a long and disastrous voyage, of five years and eight months.

## DANGERS AND DISTRESSES

OF ISAAC MORRIS, A MIDSHIPMAN OF THE WAGER, AND SEVEN COMPANIONS, ABANDONED ON THE COAST OF PATAGONIA, 1742.

THE following narrative remains to complete the history of the crew of that unfortunate vessel, concerning which we have already spoke in detail. The original source from which it is taken, has now become so extremely scarce as to prove an additional motive for inserting it here ; for although the adventures of Mr Byron and some others have been generally known, those of Isaac Morris and his companions are rarely to be met with.

“ On the 12th of October 1741, we put to sea in our long-boat and cutter, to the number of eighty, leaving Captain Cheap and nineteen others on Wager Island, where we had remained about five months. We designed to steer along shore, through the Straits of Magellan, to the coast of Brazil; which, though a desperate undertaking, in a part of the world remarkable for tempestuous winds and tumbling seas, was adopted by us with the utmost cheerfulness, from being buoyed up with the hopes of once more seeing our native country.

In the passage, several of our companions were starved to death : those of us who survived were so miserably reduced through want of nourishment, that we had hardly strength to do our duty. Such a gang of miserable objects could scarce be met with : only fifteen remained who could be called tolerably healthy.

On the 10th of January 1742, after being fourteen days out of sight of land, and almost destitute of provisions, we were blessed with the agreeable prospect of it about seven leagues distant. Therefore, we stood directly for the shore, and came to an anchor in eight fathom water. Weighing at five next morning, we steered along about a mile from the shore, where we saw many wild horses and some dogs. At noon we had a good observation, and found ourselves in  $38^{\circ} 40'$  south latitude. On sounding, we had but two fathoms and a half at high water, being upon a shoal of sand, which ran four or five leagues to the south-east ; and on clearing it we steered into a large sandy bay, where we cast anchor.

Our provisions being quite done on the 12th of January, and only one cask of water remaining, we ran as near the land as we could with safety, and fourteen of the healthiest of us agreed to swim ashore in quest of provisions. I was of the number, and all landed safe, except one of the marines, who became quite spent, and was drowned within three fathom of the beach, where none of us were near enough to assist him.

Four casks were thrown overboard to be filled with fresh water, should we be so fortunate as to find any ; and to them were lashed some muskets, with ammunition. After walking about a mile from the beach, we saw a great number of wild horses



and dogs, the former of small size, but the latter of a large mongrel species. Large flocks of parrots were seen about the rocks; and near the water-side a few seal. We likewise found a good spring of fresh water, rising from a trench not far from the shore. We shot a wild horse and some seal, and filled three casks with fresh water, which were next morning towed aboard by five of those who swam to the land. Soon after this, the sea-breeze blowing strong, the boat stood farther off to sea.

The wind blew fresh at east-south-east on the fourteenth, and we saw our vessel stretching farther off. Soon afterwards we received, in a scuttled cask, a few necessaries, with ammunition, and a letter to acquaint us of the risk which the people ran in lying near the shore, and that they were obliged to stand farther off for their own safety, until the weather should be more favourable.

Next morning we had fair weather, when we expected the boat would have stretched in for the land; but, to our great surprise, we saw her, with her ensign hoisted, sail from us. The moderate weather, with the wind off shore, gave her people a good opportunity of standing in again, if they had thought fit. Why they did not was best known to themselves: but the most probable reason we could give for such inhuman treatment was, that, by lessening the number of their crew, they might be better accommodated with room and provisions. Possibly they might apprehend inhabitants to be near us; if so, they could be none but Indians. We could not help looking on it as an act of the greatest cruelty, thus to desert us, under a false pretence of an utter impossibility of taking us on board with them.

The dismal apprehensions which were created by such an unexpected blow appeared plainly in our countenances, and can be much easier imagined than described. We found ourselves on a wild desolate part of the world, fatigued, sickly, and destitute of provisions. However, we had arms and ammunition ; and while these lasted, we made a tolerable shift for a livelihood. The nearest inhabited place, of which we knew, was Buenos Ayres, about three hundred miles to the north-west : but we were then miserably reduced by our tedious passage through the Straits of Magellan, and in a poor condition to undertake so hazardous a journey. Nothing remained but to commit ourselves to kind Providence, and make the best of our melancholy situation, until we became recruited.

We were in number eight thus abandoned by our comrades, for whose preservation we had risked our lives, by swimming ashore for provisions ; and our names, *Guy Broadwater, Samuel Cooper, Benjamin Smith, John Duck, Joseph Clinch, John Andrews, John Allen*, and myself. After deliberating on our unhappy circumstances, and comforting each other with imaginary hopes, we came to the resolution of taking up our quarters on the beach where we landed, until becoming strong enough to undergo the fatigue of a journey to *Buenos Ayres*.

The weather being very favourable, we took up our lodging in a trench near the sea-side, quite exposed, and without any covering but the heavens.

Here we remained about a month, and during that time lived on seal, which were very numerous, and which we knocked down with stones, after cutting off their retreat by getting between

them and the sea. We had likewise plenty of fresh water, rising from a small spring in the trench, so that at the month's end, we were pretty well recovered, and concluded on laying in a stock of provisions for our journey to *Buenos Ayres*.

Each having provided himself with a knapsack of seal-skin, made in the best manner possible, we put as much dried flesh of the seal into it as it could contain; and the bladders of these animals, filled with fresh water, served for bottles. Carrying our muskets and ammunition along with us, we set out thus accoutred about the middle of February, and that we might proceed with the greater certainty, resolved to keep close by the sea-side, until reaching the mouth of the River Plate.

The first two days we travelled about sixty miles, but could meet with no fresh water, besides what we carried along with us, the country being scorched with drought, and the rains not yet set in. Our water being nearly expended, we were afraid to proceed, lest we should perish for want of more, so after a few debates, we agreed to return to our old quarters, and wait till the rainy season.

Our return occupied two days and a half, after which we employed ourselves in building a sort of hut, under a cliff adjoining the sea-side, to secure us from the inclemency of the weather. Here we tarried three months, during which time our food was seals and armadilloes, these being the only provision to be met with except sea-weed, which we sometimes made use of with our meat, instead of bread.

The seals in this place differ from those which I have seen in other parts, both in size and make. The males are of the bigness of a good calf, the

neck shaggy, and the head and face somewhat resembling those of a lion. Before, the females resemble lionesses, but their hair is smooth all over like that of a horse, whereas only the hind parts of the male are smooth; two large fins like feet grow out from behind, and two more out of the breast, by means of which they can climb rocks and precipices, though they chiefly delight to be asleep near the shore. Some are fourteen feet long, and very fat, but in general their length is eight feet; the flesh of the young ones is almost as white as lamb, and tolerable good eating. From their shoulders to the tail, they taper like a fish, and the females sit on the fins growing out behind when they give suck to their young. Their hair is of different colours, looking very sleek when they first come out of the sea.

The armadillo is nearly as large as a small sucking-pig, and enclosed in thick shells, guarding all its back and meeting under the belly. It thrusts out its head before it as it walks, but, on any danger, withdraws it into the shell, and then lies quite still like a land-turtle, though kicked about. With strong claws it digs holes, and burrows in the ground like a rabbit. The flesh, which tastes similar to turtle, is very good eating.

Nothing remarkable happened to us in the course of these three months; our provision, such as it was, did not cost us much difficulty to procure; and we were supplied with fire-wood from a small coppice about seven miles distant. We seldom failed of bringing home something every night, and generally had a hot supper. The time passed as cheerfully as might be with poor fellows in such circumstances as ours. But we knew that we could not take up this place for a settled abode;



that there was no likelihood of any inhabitants being near us, nor, for many miles around, could we perceive the smallest traces of any having ever been there. It was to no purpose expecting the sight of a vessel at sea, for here, being a deep bay and shoal water, no ships could ever put in unless forced by stress of weather, and then they must be wrecked. Nothing remained for us but to make a second attempt for the River Plate; because, if we marched to the inland country in quest of inhabitants, possibly we should meet with insuperable difficulties in finding the way back again, to what I may call our home, whereas, by keeping our course along the sea-shore, we could not err. For these reasons we resolved on making another attempt by the same route; and, having laid in a stock of seal, armadilloes, and fresh water, we again set forward towards the latter end of May.

In three days we travelled about seventy miles, when towards night there came on a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which continued until day. We had a plain open country, and no place of shelter could be found; we had nothing to cover us but a seal-skin jacket; were half-dead with cold, and dubious whether our provisions would hold out, from meeting no supplies of any kind on the way. To proceed farther was only lengthening our journey back again, which we dreaded would be of no consequence at last, even though we should still push on.

The strictest harmony and good-nature had hitherto subsisted among us, but now we had almost disagreed, even to parting. Some were for pushing forward, be the event what it might, and were, with much difficulty, persuaded not to divide. However, on a representation of the great distance

which we were still from the mouth of the river, and the improbability of finding supplies on the journey, our debates ended. We jointly concluded on making the best of our way back to the hut, after having been a second time disappointed in our attempt.

Arriving at our old quarters, we began to consult what measures should be taken to secure ourselves from the inclemency of the weather, and also to provide for our subsistence until it should please God, one way or other, to deliver us out of this melancholy situation. In order to avoid disputes about the labour of getting provisions, we agreed to divide ourselves into two parties, who should alternately provide for the whole: four were appointed to scour the country one day, and four the next. Further, we bound ourselves by an oath, never to quit each other, unless compelled by a superior force; for, though we had yet seen no footsteps of inhabitants, we could not be certain that this part of the globe was destitute of them.

We had killed such a number of seal that they now became very shy of us, and we were almost surfeited by living on them so long. A great many wild dogs were seen, but never near enough for us to kill any, though now and then we chanced to shoot a puppy, which, being a change of diet, was thought delicious fare. Some deer were also seen, but we could contrive no method of taking them. Once, in our rambles, we found a litter of three young puppies, apparently about two months old, which had sheltered themselves in a hole of one of the sand-hills. Taking them out, we carried them home to our hut, and, having discovered that these puppies were whelped in

holes like those of rabbits, but larger, we all went next day in quest of more. We had the good luck to find three litters, in number thirteen, which we carried home with us, designing, if possible, to bring them up tame. We fed them with broth made of seal, and sometimes with the flesh minced small; and they afterwards became very serviceable. Each of us had a brace of dogs, which were brought up as much under command as an English spaniel, nor would they leave us to associate with the wild ones. We were often supplied with armadilloes by them, and they once killed a deer for us.

Being one day hunting, we saw some wild-hogs with their young, and our dogs, pursuing them, took two of the latter, which we saved alive, and we also shot one of the old ones, which afforded us many dainty meals. Fortunately, the two young proved to be a boar and a sow, which we designed to rear for breeding, lest we should be obliged to make a long residence in this desolate country. We brought them up very tame, insomuch that they followed our dogs whenever we went to hunt, and at night both dogs and pigs took up their lodging with us in our hut.

For the present our condition seemed tolerable; nay, we thought ourselves in very comfortable circumstances; we wanted for nothing, and, could we have confined our thoughts to present enjoyments, our situation would have proved very agreeable. But our views went farther, and the dread of what might happen, frequently struck a damp on our pleasures. Winter was now approaching: we had the inclemencies of the season to guard against, and, if possible, a stock of provisions was to be laid up against future exigencies. But we

could not be much before-hand with provisions, having no salt to cure them, and, at present, not sufficient sun wherewith they could be dried; for, along with winter came on continual storms, inso-much that some days we could not stir out of our hut.

More than seven months had now elapsed since the long-boat left us; winter came on very fast; and we were but indifferently protected from the severity of the weather: thus, we resolved immediately to put our habitation in order, and to secure our hut in the best manner we could. Accordingly, it was agreed that six should stay at home next day to prepare materials, and only two go out in quest of provisions. The lot fell on myself and John Duck to go abroad, but, though we travelled many miles, all the game we could meet was three armadilloes. It was so dark before we returned, that we despaired of finding our hut, and were like to have taken up our lodging in the open plain, had not our comrades come out in search of us, and, by making a fire, directed us towards them. Having broiled our game we sought repose; but, about two in the morning, a violent storm, with rain, thunder, and lightning, threw down part of the cliff under which we had built our hut, which was very near proving fatal to the whole; through Providence, however, none were hurt.

With day-light came tolerable weather, and the first thing we had to do was rebuilding the hut. We immediately went to the coppice from whence we were accustomed to carry our fire-wood, in order to fell poles, but, having only a single hatchet among us, none except one could employ it, while the rest brought them out and bundled them. We



had cut several, and were thus engaged, when we saw *Joseph Clinch* running out of the wood, and crying, "Lord have mercy on us, here's a great tiger." We were in the utmost consternation; for, having frequently been there before without seeing any footsteps of wild beasts, we came wanting our arms, suspecting no danger from that cause. We all took to our heels, and soon saw the tiger running out of the wood in pursuit of us. When he had come within twenty yards, finding it impossible to escape, we all turned towards him, clapping our hands and making a loud halloo, in order to frighten him, which had the desired effect, for he sat down on his tail gazing at us. What to do we knew not, doubtful whether it was best to fly or to wait for his turning; but fear prevailed, and we walked gently off, without being pursued. Next day we all went in chace of the brute with our muskets, but could not meet with him; therefore we brought home our poles, and fitted up the hut in the best manner possible, and so as to secure us from the rain.

About three weeks afterwards, when hunting on the plain about five miles from home, we saw a lion couched on the ground, watching his prey, as we imagined, from being near a wild cat's hole. We joined close together in a body, with our muskets prepared, and *Joseph Clinch*, resting his piece on my shoulder, fired a ball from the distance of twenty yards, but missed him. The lion was not affected by the report of the gun, nor stirred from his position. Then Clinch loaded his musket a second time, those of the others being kept ready, in case the animal should advance towards us, and, firing, shot the animal in the right shoulder. As he fell on his back, we ran up and knocked him

on the head with the bones of a dead horse lying near the spot; and, having carried the carcass to our hut, dressed the heart and part of the ribs, which we thought very indifferent eating.

Finding wild beasts beginning to surround us so much, that we were every day and night in continual danger, and seldom went abroad without meeting some, it probably being the time of year when their haunts are taken towards the sea-coast, we determined to make another exertion for deliverance, in attempting an expedition once more to Buenos Ayres. With this view we provided ourselves shoes and jackets of seal-skin, and also knapsacks to carry our provender; and the weather having set in fair, we fully resolved to prepare such a stock of provisions as should last to the end of the journey, though occupying a month in performance. Thus we divided into two parties, four repairing to the rocks for seal, and four hunting on the plain.

Early in the morning we set out accordingly; and it was my duty, with *Samuel Cooper*, *John Andrews*, and *John Duck*, to go to the rocks. As our usual way of killing seals was with stones or clubs, we never carried muskets along with us. We had been out all day, and killed three; and having got within a stone-cast of our hut in the dusk of the evening, I perceived our dogs very busy at a small distance wagging their tails in a fondling manner. Being a-head of my companions, I passed on without much regarding it, thinking they had lighted on a dead colt; but on coming to the hut, I was quite confounded to find it rifled, and all our necessaries taken away. In the utmost consternation, I ran back to my companions, whom I saw standing where I had left the dogs; and they,

seeing me eagerly hastening towards them, cried out, "What's the matter, Isaac?" I told them our hut was pulled down, and every thing taken away. "Aye," said they, "and something worse has happened, for *youder* lie poor *Guy Broadwater* and *Benjamin Smith* murdered." It was a most shocking sight: one had his throat cut, and the other was stabbed in the breast: they were hardly cold, so that we thought the murderers could not be far off; and were under no small apprehensions of sharing the like fate. Going to inspect the state of the hut more narrowly, we found every thing carried off; our powder, ball, and muskets gone; the fire extinguished; and not the least utensil left. Where to go, or what to do, we knew not: we durst not trust ourselves another night on this fatal spot, and yet were afraid to venture farther.

At last we came to the resolution of proceeding to the next sandy bay, about a mile distant, and taking up our quarters there for the night. But, on arriving, we could find no shelter, not so much as a cliff to lie under, which obliged us to return to our old place, and pass the night at it, happen what would.

Next morning, the dogs that belonged to our comrades stood on the top of the cliff barking at us, and would not come down, though we called them by their names; and it was with difficulty that we enticed them to come in the evening. What became of *Joseph Clinch* and *John Allen* we knew not, nor could we afterwards learn any account of them. It seemed most probable to us that the Indians had carried them off, and murdered the other two, who possibly might make some resistance, as we had all agreed to do in case of an attack. But had it been so, we might reasonably

have expected to find some of their enemies killed, as our people had fire-arms with them. It was impossible, too, that this catastrophe could be the result of a quarrel among themselves, ~~from~~ the manner of their death; for the one was stabbed, and the other had his throat cut; both, very plainly, done with a knife, an implement of which none of us was in possession. We buried our two murdered comrades in the best manner we could, by scraping away the light sand with our hands two feet deep, and raising a bed of it over their corpses.

This was the most afflicting blow of any that we had received since our residence in this unhappy country. I will not attempt to describe the horror we felt: that must be painted in the imagination in stronger colours than can be described by words. To see four of our companions snatched suddenly from us, we knew not how, ourselves deprived of our arms and utensils, left without fire, or any method of procuring it, expecting every moment to share their fate, or be starved to death, filled us with unspeakable terrors.

In this melancholy state, the only thing that remained to be done was immediately quitting this unfortunate place, and making one attempt more for Buenos Ayres. We had no time to lose, but instantly set about tearing up the seal in small pieces, raw as it was, with which we stored our knapsacks, and filled their bladders with water. We set forward, accompanied by our sixteen dogs and two pigs, and with as much provision as we could carry, praying the Almighty to be our guide. That we might not miss the mouth of the River Plate, we kept close along the coast, as before, designing, when we reached it, to travel along the banks, un-



til coming to some inhabited place ; a scheme easy enough in imagination, but attended, as we found, in practice with insuperable difficulties.

The ~~whole~~ sea coast is a plain sandy beach : on the land side are here and there very high sand hills, in the vallies of which we reposed during the night. Sometimes finding a few cockles on the beach, regaled us greatly ; and we met with part of the wreck of a large ship drove ashore, particularly a man-of-war's gang board. Plenty of water from the rains stood in ponds of the vallies of the sand hills ; and we frequently discovered dead fish thrown in upon the beach, so that we had a variety of raw meat to feed upon. We also found a very large dead whale by the sea side, which was a feast for our dogs and pigs, and at a little distance a parcel of fine whale-bone.

At the end of ten days, after hard travelling daily, we made the cape of the river, but there found ourselves obstructed by a multitude of small streams and muddy swamps. We swam over several with our knapsacks across our shoulders ; and when night came on, covered ourselves with the rushes, where we were almost devoured by muskitoes. Next day several attempts to proceed proved that it was impossible to accomplish our journey : the farther we advanced, the greater were our difficulties. Several times we were in danger of being suffocated, the bogs often sinking us to the shoulders, so that, after many fruitless attempts to get on, we found that we had no remedy but to tread back the melancholy path, and return to our old place of rendezvous. This we performed in less than ten days.

Wanting arms to defend ourselves against the wild beasts, we were afraid to wander far abroad

after our return. Our two pigs maintained us nearly a fortnight, after which we were obliged to live on some of our trusty dogs. But this raw way of feeding, which continued three months longer, brought us into a state of bad health. About a quarter of a mile from the hut we found a dead horse, of which we now and then took a morsel, by way of change; and, could we have got fire to dress it, the variety would have been agreeable enough. Notwithstanding our fears, necessity compelled us to go abroad in search of other kind of provisions; and sometimes we had the good fortune to bring home an armadillo.

One morning finding the trunk of a large tree, we conceived that it was not impossible, with the help of the skins of seals and horses, to make a sort of boat with it, which might serve to convey us along shore to the River Plate. Yet we had no kind of tool whatever. But *John Duck* recollected, that about eleven months before, at the termination of our first attempt to reach *Buenos Ayres*, he had thrown away his musket, which was not worth the trouble of carrying home, and we had enough besides. We proposed going in search of it, as, if successful, it might serve to fashion into a hatchet. Accordingly, having furnished ourselves with some raw seal and water, we set out, and did find the musket, though above sixty miles distant. On our return home, we discovered several ostrich eggs, but never any of the birds themselves, about half buried in the sand, and they proved a refreshing meal.

When the musket was brought home, we beat half the length of the barrel flat with stones, and whetted an edge to it against a rock: the other half served for the handle, and it made a tolerable

hatchet, at least what would have served instead of one, had not Providence soon put an end to our design!

Two days after finishing our hatchet, it being my turn to stay in the hut, my three comrades went to a place which we called the *Long Point*, in quest of provisions. Towards evening I walked out to see if they were returning, when, to my astonishment, I discovered about a dozen of horses galloping down the sandy bay in the direction of our hut; and as they came nearer, I plainly saw men on their backs, and that these were Indians. It was vain to fly: I imagined nothing but death approaching, and prepared to meet it with all the resolution I could muster up. I ran towards the strangers, and, falling on my knees, begged my life with all the signs of humility I could make, when I heard a voice saying, "Don't be afraid, Isaac, we are all here;" words which revived me. The Indians alighted; and whilst some were intent on examining the hut, others stood with drawn knives ready to dispatch us, in case we made any resistance. When they had satisfied their curiosity, they gave three confused shouts, and immediately making us get up behind them, carried us away a few miles inland from the sea-shore, where there were about a dozen more of their companions with above four hundred horses taken in hunting. We were treated with great humanity: they killed a horse, kindled a fire, and roasted part of it; which, to us, who had been eating raw flesh three months, was most delicious entertainment. They also gave each of us a piece of an old blanket to cover our nakedness.

I had been in great hazard of being left alone; for, when the Indians met with my three comrades,

and were immediately hurrying them away to their place of rendezvous, they were with difficulty made to understand by signs, that there was one more belonging to their party a little way off; and then my comrades guided them to the hut, where I had the happiness of being taken prisoner.

We decamped from this place next morning, driving a troop of horses before us, and travelled nineteen days. We then reached their next place of rendezvous, as I conceive about two hundred miles from our hut to the south-west, situated in a valley between two very high mountains, with fine pasture and several small rivers, but with very little wood for many miles around. Here were about a dozen Indian huts, built with poles and the skins of horses, inhabited by another party of Indians, with their wives and children, who gazed very earnestly on us, as if they had never seen any white people before.

In this place we were bought and sold four different times, for a pair of spurs, a brass pan, ostrich-feathers, and such trifles, which was the low price generally set on each of us; and sometimes we were played away at dice, so that we changed masters several times in a day. We remained nearly a month in the valley, by which time the several parties of Indians joined us from their hunting expeditions, each party bringing the horses they had taken. All were mixed in the common stock, which was examined and counted by one of the Indians, who seemed to be a sort of captain over the rest; and the whole exceeded fifteen hundred, some of them equal to the best of our European breed.

After one day's grand feasting, we set out in a body for their chief town, where the king or cap-



tain lived, with a string of fifteen hundred horses in our train. Four months were occupied in this journey, and by our method of travelling, I believe it must be a thousand miles from the sea coast where our hut stood. In the day-time we advanced, and at night reposed in moveable huts, which sheltered us from the weather. Our constant food was horse flesh, which some chose to eat raw, and others broiled or roasted; and as for drink, we never failed of water, nor the Indians were acquainted with every small rivulet; of these, there were numbers in the route we followed, though a stranger would scarcely have found them.

At length we arrived at the end of our journey, in the chief town where the king of these Indians lived. But the masters by whom we were last purchased, meant to carry us to their own home, about two hundred miles farther, and had actually conducted us some miles on the way, when we were followed by a party of horse, and brought back to the capital, the king claiming us as his property.

The town of which I speak, consisted of about thirty huts, built in a low irregular manner with poles and horse-skins, surrounded with palisades about three feet distant from each other. The inhabitants, men, women, and children, amounted to about threescore. We were soon summoned to appear before the king, who received us sitting on the ground in his hut, with a javelin on one side, and a bow and arrows on the other. A loose mantle encircled his waist, a sort of turret of ostrich feathers was on his head, and he had a long reed pipe in his mouth, smoking. After our obeisance was made to him, he began to ask several

questions in Spanish, which those people could speak a little of, and of which, we soon gave him to understand, we also knew a little. In answer to his inquiries concerning our country, and how we came hither, we told him we were Englishmen; that we were lost in an English man-of-war in the South sea, going to fight against our enemies, the Spaniards; that we were eight in number, who were left on a desolate part of the continent; and one evening, on our return from procuring provisions, we found two of our companions murdered, and two carried off, on the same spot of ground where we had been lately taken; our hut pulled down and every thing removed, which we supposed must have been done by some of his countrymen. The king then called three or four of his men, and talked very earnestly to them, in their own language. But it seems that they knew nothing of the affair as he told us, though he was pleased to assure us, that strict inquiry should be made of the other parties which were out at the same time. I found by him, that he sent out parties every spring from each different town under his government, which take different routes; and sometimes join one another accidentally on their return. He expressed much joy on finding that we were at war with the Spaniards; and asked if we were great men in our own country. We told him "Yes;" and he said the Spaniards were enemies to his people, taking away their country from them, and driving them to the mountains.

When the king had ended our examination, he ordered a horse to be killed immediately and dressed for us; he lodged us in his own hut that night, until one was, next day, built for our reception.

Here we remained eight months and wintered,

during which time we frequently had snow five or six feet deep. Our chief work was carrying wood and water, and skinning the horses killed by the Indians, and although we were slaves, we were treated very humanely, and they would suffer no one to use us ill. Four Spanish women who had been taken captive in a skirmish near Buenos Ayres, were in the town, and the king said, with a smile, that he would give each of us a wife.

The country where these Indians resided is very fruitful in pasture, as indeed is the whole coast of Patagonia. It abounds with great plenty of horses, and contains a few black cattle, which last are entirely neglected by the Indians, as they prefer horse flesh above all others, and constantly feed upon it. The people, at least those in that part of the country where we dwelt, are tall and well made, being in general from five to six feet high: good natured and obliging to one another, and never seeing their fellows want. Though they have what they call a king, he seems to be only a chief or captain of a party: for as they have no settled abode, but live dispersed in little towns or parties; each party seems to have a chief who presides over them like a petty king. I could not observe any rules of government, but at a drinking-bout king and subjects are all alike. Their king is distinguished from the rest by being the largest man, and by wearing a kind of sash around his waist. It is true he has a deference paid him by his subjects, and whatever he orders is done immediately, he being himself exempted from any kind of work. But I never saw any punishments inflicted by him, nor any quarrels among the people themselves, excepting at a drinking feast, and then their wives always took care that no bad consequences should

follow, by putting every weapon out of their way, especially their knives. For this reason, I imagine that they are always quarrelsome in liquor; of which one or two instances happened while I was among them. Their manner of feasting is to take a quantity of small sweet berries, and put them into a pit dug in the ground, about four feet square, lined in the sides and bottom with horses hides. This cask, if I may so call it, is thus filled half with berries, and then filled up with water, which being stirred well with sticks, is left to ferment about forty-eight hours. All the people then sit round it, men and women together, smoking and drinking, and singing in their way, but more like shrieking cries, and when drunk they frequently proceed to blows.

These Indians seldom live long in one place, for when their horses have ate up the pasture, they remove their town, and all their goods, which is soon done, a few miles off; and this occurring several times in a year, they have no settled dwelling. Their habitations are scattered all over the country, with few huts together, and there are three times the number in the town where the chief resides above what I saw any where else. They seem to have some notion of the devil, and are afraid of apparitions, for none would stir out of their huts when dark without company; and one night in particular, we heard a great noise in the town, like several drums beating, which next day we found had been some of the Indians beating the sides of their houses, made of horses skins, to frighten the devil away.

A new born child is wrapt up in a sheep's skin, and, instead of a bed or cradle, laid on a machine, somewhat resembling our hand-barrow, the bottom



of which is also covered with a sheep's skin. This is hung up by the four corners, the child's legs and arms being fastened with a lash of horse's skin to prevent it from falling over, and swung backwards and forwards instead of a cradle. All the children, young and old, are every morning taken to the nearest rivulet, and plunged naked under the water, even when the ground is covered with snow. They are thus hardened to run about naked, though in the midst of winter.

And now the time of the Indians' hunting voyage approaching, which is every spring, and the whole summer generally spent in taking wild horses, we made great intercession to accompany them. But we were given to understand, that we must be sent further into the country to remain with other Indians until their return. We at last prevailed, by assuring the chief that we had English friends at Buenos Ayres, who would make him a very handsome satisfaction for us, and would redeem us at whatever price was set on our heads. This seemed to please him, and he then consented. We were at that time about a thousand miles from Buenos Ayres; and the route of the Indians extends to the eastern coast of Patagonia quite to the sea about an hundred miles southward of Buenos Ayres. When they set out, they carry away every thing belonging to them; women, children, houses, and all. These last are slung across the horses, and at night are taken down to be shelter from the weather. A few supernumerary horses serve for maintaining the party, until they commence hunting, which seldom happens before travelling seven or eight days.

At last the wished-for moment came, when we all set out in a body, except John Duck, whose

misfortune it was to have a complexion too nearly resembling the Indians, being a mulatto-born in London; for which reason he was sold by the chief farther up the country, where he would end his days, as there was no prospect of his ever returning to England.

We had travelled ten or twelve days, without seeing any wild horses, but soon afterwards several were ingeniously caught by the Indians. This is done in two ways: first with a lash made of horse skins, about fifty feet long, and two inches broad, with a running noose at one end. The huntsman holds the noose in his right hand, and the end in the left, and on coming within a few yards of the wild animal, though running at full speed, throws the noose over its head, by which means it is soon taken. Secondly, an iron ball, about two pounds weight, is fastened to each end of a leather strap, about twelve feet long; and an Indian, when within distance of his object, having swung one of the balls several times round his head, throws it at the wild horse's legs, at the same time parting with the other. This seldom fails of entangling the animal, and throwing it to the ground; and horses taken in this way become tame in a few days. The Indians are even dexterous in killing birds with these balls.

Having arrived within an hundred miles of Buenos Ayres, we requested the chief to dispatch one of his men to the governor, and acquaint him that he had three English prisoners, and inquire whether he would redeem them. The chief did so, and the messenger, on his return, brought him a certain pledge of fulfilling his promise, which was a gold-laced waistcoat. Next day we were de-

sired to get ourselves ready to go to Buenos Ayres, as he and some of his men would accompany us.

The hopes of once more seeing our fellow Christians, filled us with joy. We were immediately carried before the governor of Buenos Ayres, who satisfied our Indian prince, and paid the ransom, which was ninety dollars, and a few trifles, and then dismissed him. We returned hearty thanks for his kindness towards us during our abode, in which time we met with greater regard than afterwards in a long confinement on board of the Spanish admiral.

Having undergone an examination by the governor, and given him a full account of our past misfortunes, we were dismissed for a short space on our parole. We were greatly indebted to the president of the English Assiento house, Mr Grey, from whose compassion and kind intercession we were redeemed from the hands of the Indians, as he offered to do it entirely at his own charge. The governor sent for us several times, and earnestly urged us to turn Catholics, and serve the king of Spain: to which we answered, that we were Protestants and true Englishmen, and hoped to die so. Many tempting offers were made to seduce us, but thank God we resisted them all. When the governor found that his efforts were unavailing, we were sent as prisoners of war on board the *Asia*, which lay at Monte Video, about thirty leagues down the river, waiting for orders. This was the Spanish Admiral Pizarro's ship, which, after an unsuccessful attempt to pass Cape Horn, for the purpose of being in the South Seas with her squadron before ours, was driven back by tempestuous weather, and obliged to put into the

River Plate, after losing half her crew. The admiral had quitted her, and gone overland to Chili.

We were confined above a year, along with sixteen other English prisoners on board the *Asia*, and treated more like slaves than prisoners of war. Our province was to swab and clean the decks fore and aft every morning; and after the work was done, we were confined between decks, with a centinel over us as if we had been criminals, and we had but a poor allowance of victuals besides. In short, our usage was so bad, that we agreed, along with the rest of the English prisoners, to attempt obtaining our liberty, though at the risk of our lives.

One night accordingly we escaped from our guard, intending to swim ashore, as the ship lay within a quarter of a mile of the land, and travel to a Portuguese settlement, on the north side of the river. Another beside myself reached the shore in safety, the rest were discovered before plunging into the water; I was quite naked, and my comrade had only a shirt wrapped round his head; but before we got half way to the shore, a gun was fired from the ship to alarm the town. We travelled until two in the morning, and then lay down among the rushes; but the weather being very frosty, and our feet swelled, and full of thorns, we could travel no further.

Soon after day-light, having met with some men on horseback belonging to the plantations, we surrendered ourselves, and they took us behind them to their house. Next day we were carried from thence by a party of soldiers sent out in pursuit of us, on board the ship, and there put in the stocks, neck and heels, four hours every day for a fortnight.



At length we were informed of the admiral's arrival at Buenos Ayres; and he soon came on board, when he ordered the ship to be refitted in the best manner possible, being determined to carry her to Old Spain. But there was a great deficiency of hands, for which reason all men that could be procured were impressed at Monté Video. These, with eleven Indians, whom the Spaniards four months before had taken prisoners in a skirmish, at a distance from Buenos Ayres, and now designed for their row galleys, were sent on board; and soon afterwards, I had the pleasure of seeing my brother midshipman, Mr Campbell, also wrecked in the *Wager*. Choosing to follow the fortune of Captain Cheap, he arrived with him at Chili, and came from thence by land to Buenos Ayres, accompanied by some officers belonging to the Spanish admiral, in March.

In the latter end of October 1745, we sailed from Monte Video in the *Asia*, bound for Spain; and in three days an incident happened on board, which had nearly proved fatal to the whole crew.

About nine at night, we were alarmed with the cry of mutiny, and so indeed it proved; but such a mutiny as never would have been suspected by any of the ship's crew, or perhaps credited by posterity, if a number of persons were not living to attest the fact. The Indians, above mentioned, were a chief named Orellana, and ten of his followers, who belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. Now on board the *Asia*, they were treated with much insolence and barbarity by the Spaniards, the meanest officers among whom were accustomed to beat them on the slightest pretences, and sometimes only to shew their superiority.

Orellana and his followers, though apparently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge. He endeavoured to converse with such of the English as understood the Spanish language, and seemed very desirous of learning how many of them were on board, and which they were. Aware of their being as hostile to the Spaniards as himself, he certainly meant to disclose his purpose, and induce them to embark in the plan he had formed for avenging himself and regaining his liberty. But, not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, after distantly sounding them, he proceeded no farther in respect to their participation, but resolved to trust his enterprise to himself and his ten faithful followers.

The necessary arrangements being made, the Indians provided themselves with the sharp pointed knives which were in common use in the ship, and also were secretly employed in cutting out thongs from raw hides, to the ends of which they fixed the double-headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns. This, when swung round their heads, is a dangerous weapon, and, as already observed, they are extremely expert with it. An outrage committed on the chief himself, precipitated the execution of his daring enterprise; for one of the officers, a brutal fellow, having ordered him aloft, of which he was incapable of performance, then, under pretence of disobedience, cruelly beat him, and left him bleeding on the deck.

Within a day or two afterwards, Orellana and his followers, about nine in the evening, while many of the principal officers were enjoying the coolness of the air on the quarter-deck, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. They were imme-

diately reprimanded by the boatswain, who ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in their native language, when four of them retired, two towards each gangway, while he himself, and the remaining six, seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the Indians detached had taken possession of the gangway, Orellana gave the war whoop, which is the harshest and most terrific yell that can be conceived. Instantly the whole drew their knives, and brandished the double headed shot which had been prepared, and, immediately falling on the Spaniards, laid nearly forty of them at their feet. About twenty of these were killed on the spot, and the remainder disabled. Many of the officers, at the commencement of the tumult, pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights and barricaded the door; and, of those who had escaped the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape one way and some another, but most of them ascended the main-shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or the rigging. Although the attack was made on the quarter-deck only, the watch in the forecastle, finding the communication cut off, and terrified by the wounds of the few who had forced their way along to them for refuge, and besides, being ignorant of who and what were their enemies, also run up the rigging of the foremast and bowsprit.

Thus did eleven Indians, with unexampled courage and resolution, almost instantaneously make themselves master of the quarter-deck of a sixty-six-gun ship, manned with nearly five hundred men, and continue some time in peaceable possession of it. The officers and crew, who had escaped into different parts of the ship, were long

anxious only for their own safety, and incapable of forming any plan for quelling the insurrection. The yell of the Indians, indeed, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity prevailing, greatly magnified the danger at first. The Spaniards, likewise, sensible of the disaffection of the impressed men, and, at the same time, conscious of the barbarity their prisoners had experienced, believed that it was a general conspiracy, and that their own destruction was inevitable.

But the tumult considerably subsided when the Indians had completely cleared the quarter-deck, for those who had escaped were kept silent by dread, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. When Orellana saw himself master of the quarter-deck, he broke open the arm-chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been placed there a few days preceding, as a place of greater security. Here he expected to find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the employment of which they were extremely skilful; and with these, it was supposed, he meant to make his way to the great cabin. But, to his great disappointment, it contained nothing except fire-arms, which were of no use to him, at least they concealed the cutlasses under them. By this time, Pizarro, the admiral, and his companions in the great cabin, were able to hold conversation through the windows and port-holes with those in the gun-room and between decks, and thence learned, that the English, who were chiefly suspected, had not intermeddled in the mutiny, and were all safe; and they also found, that the only participators were Orellana and his people. Pizarro, therefore, resolved to attack them



on the quarter-deck, before the discontented should join them; and, collecting together whatever arms were in the cabin, distributed them to his companions. They had pistols, but neither powder nor ball; however, in consequence of the correspondence established with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket from the cabin, and, by that means, received a quantity of pistol-cartridges out of one of the gun-room ports. They then partly opened the cabin door, and fired some shot among the Indians on the quarter-deck, at first without effect. At length, Mindinuetta had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot, on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of further resistance, leaped into the sea, where every man perished. Thus was the insurrection quelled, and the ship regained, after being two hours in the possession of this gallant chief and his unfortunate countrymen. To the whole of the affair I was witness.

The admiral finding that none of the English had engaged in the insurrection, treated them with a little more lenity for a few days, and endeavoured, though fruitlessly, to persuade them, with great promises of preferment, to enter into the Spanish service.

Towards the latter end of February, 1746, we arrived at Concoubene, a harbour about five leagues south of Cape Finisterre; where we requested to be sent on shore, as prisoners of war. But being told that we must all go in the ship to the Groyne, we went on the quarter-deck in a body, and said to the admiral that we should no longer be slaves on board. Next day, however, we were sent ashore and confined fifteen days in a prison, chained together like criminals, and fed on bread and water.

When the ship sailed for the Groyne, we were released from our dungeon, and marched thither by land, under a file of musketeers. On arriving there, we were put two days into the guard-house, and from thence sent to St Antonio's Castle, which is on an island at the entrance of the harbour; a prison for thieves and felons. In this dismal place we were kept fourteen weeks, among the worst of malefactors, when an order came from the court of Spain to send us to Portugal, allowing us a guide and a real per day.

On reaching Oporto, in eight days, the English consul, on our application, and on hearing the hardships we had undergone, gave each of us three days maintenance, and a quarter of a moidore.

We embarked in the *Charlotte*, snow, on the 28th of April, 1746, and under convoy of the *York* and *Folkstone* men-of-war, arrived at London on the 5th of July following; three only of the eight left on the coast of Patagonia, *Samuel Cooper*, *John Andrews* and myself, being so happy as once more to see their native country.

## ACCOUNT OF FOUR RUSSIAN SAILORS

ABANDONED ON THE ISLAND OF EAST SPITZBERGEN.  
1743

IN the year 1743, Jeremiah Okladmkof, a merchant of Mesen, in the province of Jugovia, and government of Archangel, in Russia, fitted out a vessel for the Greenland whale-fishery. She carried fourteen men, and was destined for Spitzbergen. For eight successive days after their sailing the wind was fair, but on the ninth it changed; so that instead of getting to the coast of Spitzbergen, the usual rendezvous of the Dutch ships, they were driven eastward; and after some days elapsed they found themselves near an island, called by the Russians Little Broun. Approaching within three versts, or two English miles of this island, the vessel was suddenly surrounded by ice, and the crew were reduced to an extremely dangerous situation.

In this alarming state, a council was held, when the mate, Alexis Himkof, informed his comrades

\* This narrative was published at St Petersburg, by M. Le Roy, Professor of History there, in 1768. It was originally written in German, and was, six years afterwards, translated into English, under the immediate inspection of several members of the Royal Society of London.

that some of the people of Meseu formerly intended wintering on this island, and for that purpose had carried timber hither, fit for building a hut, and actually erected one at some distance from the shore.

The whole crew, therefore, concluded to winter there, if the hut, as they hoped, still existed; because they were exposed to imminent danger by remaining in the ship; and they would infallibly perish if they did so. Four of the crew were, on that account, dispatched in search of it, or of any other assistance they might meet with.

The names of these four were, Alexis Himkof, Iwan Himkof, Stephen Scharapof and Feoder Weregine. Two miles of ice intervened between them and the shore, which being loose, and driven together by the wind, rendered the approach difficult and dangerous. Providing themselves with a musket, a powder-horn containing twelve charges of powder, with as many balls, an axe, a kettle, about twenty pounds of flour, a knife, a tinder-box, some tobacco, and each his wooden pipe, they soon arrived on the island.

Their first employment was exploring the country, when they discovered the hut alluded to, about a mile and a-half from the shore. It was thirty-six feet long, eighteen broad, and eighteen high; and consisted of two chambers. Rejoicing greatly at their success, they passed the night in it, though having been built a considerable time, it had suffered much from the weather.

Next morning the four men hastened to the shore, impatient to communicate their good fortune to their comrades; likewise designing to get such stores, ammunition, and necessaries from the vessel, as to enable them to winter on the island.



But the reader may conceive their sorrow and astonishment, when on reaching the place where they had landed, nothing was to be seen but an open sea, instead of the ice, which only the day preceding had covered it. Doubtless a violent storm, which arose during the night, had operated the change. It was not known, however, whether the vessel had been beat to pieces by the ice, or whether she had been carried by the current to the ocean; not an uncommon event in Greenland. Whatever accident befel her, certain it is they saw her no more; whence it is probable that she sunk, and that all on board perished.

This unfortunate occurrence deprived them of the hope of ever being able to quit the island, and full of horror and despair, they returned to the hut. But their first attention was directed to the means of providing subsistence, and repairing their habitation. The twelve charges of powder procured them as many rein-deer, for the island, fortunately for them, abounded with these animals.

Though there were many crevices in the building, the wood of the hut was still sound and unimpaired, therefore the deficiency was supplied and done the more easily, because the lower class of Russians are expert carpenters. Here they had plenty of moss to assist them.

The intense cold of the climate prevents the growth of vegetables, and no species of tree or shrub is found on the Islands of Spitzbergen. The Russians, however, collected a quantity of wood on the shore, which at first consisted of the wrecks of vessels, and afterwards of whole trees with their roots, the produce of some more hospitable climate, though unknown. Fortunately they found several bits of old iron, some nails, five or six inches

long, and an iron hook, on a few wooden boards washed in by the sea. They likewise found the root of a fir-tree bent and nearly fashioned into the shape of a bow.

By the help of a knife, a bow was soon formed but wanting a string and arrows. Unable at present to procure either, they resolved to make two lances to defend themselves against the white bears. The iron hook was therefore fashioned into a hammer, by widening a hole which it happened to have about the middle, with one of the largest nails. A large pebble served for an anvil, and a couple of rein-deer horns served for the tongs.

By means of such tools, two spear heads were made, which were tied fast with thongs to sticks about the thickness of a man's arm. Thus equipped, the Russians ventured to attack a white bear, and, after a most dangerous encounter, succeeded in killing it. This was a new supply of provisions: they relished the flesh exceedingly, and easily divided the tendons into filaments, which, besides other uses, served for strings to their bow.

The Russians, in the next place, proceeded to forge some bits of iron into smaller pieces, resembling the head of the spears, and these were fitted to arrows, by fastening them to fir rods. They had thus a complete bow and arrows, and were more easily enabled to obtain food. With these, during their abode in the island, they killed no less than two hundred and fifty rein-deer, and a great number of blue and white foxes. They fed on the flesh of the animals, and used their skins for clothing. They killed only ten white bears during their residence, and that at the utmost hazard, for these creatures are amazingly strong, and defended themselves with surprising vigour and fury.

The first was attacked intentionally; the other nine were killed in self-defence, for the animals even ventured to enter the outer-room of the hut to devour them. Some, less ferocious than others, were repulsed on the first attempt, but a repetition of their attacks exposed the sailors to the continual apprehension of being destroyed.

As they could not afford wood for a constant fire, they dried a portion of their provision in the open air, and afterwards hung it up in the hut, which was always full of smoke. Prepared in this way, they used it for bread, because they were under the necessity of eating their other flesh half raw.

Unfortunately, one of the Russians was attacked by the scurvy. Iwan Himkof, who had wintered several times on the coast of West Spitzbergen, advised his companions to swallow raw and frozen meat in small pieces; to drink the blood of the rein-deer, as it flowed warm from the veins of the animal, and to eat scurvy-grass, although it was not very abundant. Those who followed his injunctions found an effectual antidote, but Feodor Weregine, being naturally of an indolent disposition, averse to drinking the rein-deer blood, and, unwilling to leave the hut when he could possibly avoid it, was soon seized with the scurvy. Under this afflicting distemper he passed nearly six years, enduring the greatest sufferings: At length he became so weak that he could not sit erect, nor even raise his hand to his mouth, so that his humane companions were obliged to attend on, and feed him like a new born infant until the hour of his death.

In the course of their excursions through the island, the seamen had met with a slimy loam, or kind

of clay, of which they contrived to make a lamp, and proposed to keep it constantly burning with the fat of the animals they should kill. Thus they filled it with rein-deer's fat, and stuck a bit of twisted linen into it for a wick. But, to their mortification, always as the fat melted, it not only was absorbed by the clay, but fairly run through it on all sides. On this account they formed another lamp, which they dried thoroughly in the air, and heated red hot. It was next quenched in their kettle, wherein they had boiled a quantity of flour down to the consistence of thin starch. When filled with melted fat, they found, to their great joy, that it did not leak. Encouraged by this attempt, they made another, that, at all events, they might not be destitute of light, and saved the remainder of their flour for similar purposes. Oakum thrown ashore, as also cordage found among the wrecks of vessels, served for wicks; and when these resources failed, they converted their shirts and drawers to the same purpose. By such means they kept a lamp burning from soon after their arrival on the island, until the day of their embarkation for their native country.

Clothes, in so rigorous a climate, next became an object of necessity. The uses to which they had applied what they had brought with them exposed them still more to its severity. The skins of rein-deer and foxes had hitherto served for bedding. It was essential to devise some method of tanning them, the better to withstand the weather. This was accomplished, in a certain degree, by soaking the skins in water until the hair could be rubbed off, and then putting rein-deer fat upon them. The leather, by such a process, became soft and pliant. The want of awls and needles was supplied by bits



of iron occasionally collected: of these they made a kind of wire, which, being heated red hot, was pierced with a knife, ground to a sharp point, which formed the eye of a needle. The sinews of bears and reindeer, split into threads, served for sewing the pieces of leather together, which enabled the Russians to procure jackets and trousers for summer dress, and a long fur gown with a hood for their winter apparel.

The wants of these unfortunate persons being thus provided for, the only reflections disturbing them were regret for those left behind at home, or the apprehension of some one of them surviving all his companions, and then either starving for want of food, or becoming a prey to wild beasts. The mate, Alexis Hinkof, had a wife and three children, who were constantly in his mind, and he was unhappy from the dread of never seeing them more.

Excepting white bears, foxes, and reindeer, with which the island abounds, no other animals inhabit it. A few birds are seen in summer, such as geese, ducks, and other water-fowl. Whales seldom approach the shore; but there are great numbers of seals: other fish are scarce; and indeed their being in plenty would have little availed the Russians, who were unprovided with the means of taking them. Sometimes they found the teeth and jaws of seals on the shore, but never an entire carcase; for when these animals die on land, the white bears immediately eat them. The common food of this ferocious creature, however, is the flesh of dead whales, which are frequently seen floating about in the polar regions, and are sometimes cast on shore. When this provision fails, they fall up-

on seals, devouring these and other animals sleeping on the beach.

The island had many mountains and steep rocks of stupendous height, perpetually covered with snow and ice: not a tree, nor even the poorest shrub was to be met with: neither is there any vegetable but scurvy-grass, though plenty of moss grows in every part. The Russians found no river; however, there were many small rivulets rising among the rocks and mountains, which afforded a quantity of water.

They saw the sun moving for months together round the horizon during summer, and in winter they were an equal length of time in total darkness; but the Aurora Borealis, which was then frequent, contributed to lessen the gloominess of so long a night. Thick cloudy weather, great quantities of snow, and almost incessant rain at certain seasons, often obscured the stars. The snow totally covered the hut in winter, and left them no way of getting out of it, excepting by a hole which they had made in the roof of one of the chambers.

When the unfortunate mariners had passed nearly six years in this dismal abode, Feodor Weregine, who had all along been in a languid state, died, after suffering the most excruciating pains. Though his companions were thus freed of the trouble of attending on him, and the grief of witnessing his misery, they were deeply affected by his death. They saw their number lessened, and each wished to be the next to follow him. Having died in winter, a grave as deep as possible was dug in the snow to receive his corpse, and the survivors then covered it over to the best of their power, to prevent the white bears from getting at it.

While the melancholy reflections excited by Weregin's death were still fresh in the minds of his comrades, and while each expected to pay the like duties to the companions of his misfortunes that they had done to him, or to be himself the first to receive them, a Russian vessel unexpectedly came in view on the 15th of August 1749.

This vessel belonged to a trader who had come to Archangel, and intended to winter in Nova Zembla: but fortunately it was proposed to him to winter at West Spitzbergen, to which, after many objections, he assented. Contrary winds on the passage prevented the ship from reaching the place of her destination, and drove her towards East Spitzbergen, directly opposite to the residence of the mariners. As soon as they perceived her, they hastened to light fires on the nearest hills, and then ran to the beach waving a flag made of a rein-deer's skin fastened to a pole. The people on board observing these signals, concluded there were men ashore imploring their assistance, and therefore came to an anchor near the island.

To describe the joy of the unfortunate mariners at seeing the moment of their deliverance so near is impossible. They soon agreed with the master of the vessel to take them and all their riches on board, for which they should work during the voyage, and pay him eighty rubles on arriving in Russia. Therefore they embarked, carrying with them two thousand weight of rein-deer fat, many hides of the same animals, the skins of the blue and white foxes and bears they had killed. Neither did they neglect to carry away their spears, their knife and axe, which were almost wore out, or their awls and needles, which were carefully preserved in a box, very ingeniously made of bone.

After spending six years and three months in this rueful solitude, they arrived safe at Archangel on the 25th of September 1749. But the moment of landing was nearly fatal to the affectionate wife of Alexis Himkof, who happened to be present when the vessel came into port. Immediately recognising her husband, she ran with such eagerness to embrace him, that she slipped into the water, and very narrowly escaped being drowned.

All the three survivors were strong and healthy: having lived so long without bread, they could not be reconciled to the use of it; neither could they bear spirituous liquors, and drank nothing but water.

As they were vassals of Count Schuwalow, who then had a grant of the whale fishery, M. Le Roy requested of him that they might be sent from Archangel to St Petersburg, where he could satisfy himself respecting their adventures. Accordingly two of them arrived, Alexis Himkof, aged about fifty, and Iwan Himkof, about thirty. They brought some curious specimens of their workmanship, so neatly executed, that it was doubtful with what tools it could have been done. From their account, both to M. Klingstadt, auditor of the Admiralty at Archangel, and what they now communicated, M. Le Roy composed the preceding narrative.

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The place where the preceding events occurred is not altogether evident, for it is not clearly explained what country in particular is to be understood by *East Spitzbergen*, whether the extensive tract known by the specific name of Spitzbergen, or any island in the vicinity. Most probably, however, from the animals described, the scene of the



misfortunes of the Russians lay in Spitzbergen, properly so called.

The northern part of that country, so far as hitherto explored, reaches beyond  $81^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and extends to between  $76$  and  $77^{\circ}$  south. But whether it forms an island, or is united to the continent of America, is questioned by navigators and geographers.

For centuries past it has been greatly resorted to on account of the profitable whale-fishery of the surrounding seas, and several shipwrecks, as well as incidents similar to the preceding, have occurred there, and in the vicinity. Spitzbergen is a bleak and barren country, and received its name from the lofty pointed mountains by which it is covered: perpetual snow prevails, few plants spring from the soil, and it is destitute of wood. But to compensate in some measure for the scanty productions of nature by land, its seas, abundantly stored with fish, can afford a copious supply both of food and clothing to mankind.

## WRECK OF THE INSPECTOR PRIVATEER

IN TANGIER BAY, 4TH JANUARY, 1746.

**T**HE Inspector privateer, commanded by Captain Richard Veale, sailed from the Downs on a cruize on the 24th of October 1745. She belonged to the port of London, and was manned by two hundred and five hands. At first she met with pretty good success in taking two prizes, and then steered for the Straits of Gibraltar, which she entered on the first of January 1746. Next day, during a brisk gale, the vessel sprung a leak ; and notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the crew, plying night and day at the pumps, it was with the greatest difficulty that they could keep her above water. All their efforts proved in vain, and on the fourth, finding that she must inevitably sink in a very short time, they ran her ashore in Tangier Bay, little doubting that they should obtain a favourable reception and immediate relief from the Moors.

Unhappily these expectations, which were founded in the confidence that a treaty between the Emperor of Morocco and the British Court inspired, proved fallacious: the inhuman Moors came down upon the shipwrecked mariners like so many ferocious beasts of prey. Those who thought themselves fortunate in reaching the shore with their

lives, were treated with the greatest barbarity, and stripped of every article of clothing; and some who ventured to offer resistance were mercilessly butchered or drowned.

A small portion of the crew got into the town of Tangier: others lay all night without the walls suffering the pains of hunger, and cold from the inclemency of the season. But twelve remained on the wreck, spending their melancholy hours in doleful outcries, and expecting every moment to be swallowed up by the waves, which broke in mountains over their heads. Providence, however, thought fit to preserve them from this impending danger, for in the morning the Moors sent off a boat, which brought them all safe ashore. They considered it at first a happy deliverance, but no sooner had they got into the boat, more dead than alive, than the Moors stripped them of every thing of the smallest value; adding insult to the injury, by calling them Christian dogs and unbelievers, fellows that deserved no mercy.

Out of the whole crew it was found that ninety-six perished in the sea, or were killed in endeavouring to get on shore. The survivors, being eighty-seven in number, with much difficulty obtained permission to repair in a body to the house of the British consul, to communicate their situation to him, and endeavour to procure some subsistence. Unluckily the consul was at Gibraltar, and the people, though in a deplorable condition, almost naked; and many, desperately wounded by the Moors, could get no relief from his deputy, though they remained six days in that state.

Mr Petticrew, the consul, arrived in the *Phoenix* man-of-war, a few days afterwards, and applied to the alcaide for liberty to the surviving crew to go

to Gibraltar; but the alcaide replied that he could not grant it without permission from the emperor. Mr Petticrew, therefore, sent them information that he would provide ropes for them to descend over the walls at night, and a vessel to carry them off. It does not appear, however, that this was attempted.

Soon afterwards they received the mortifying intelligence that there were no hopes of their getting out of the country, and that they would be condemned to a state of slavery, until the British government discharged an old debt claimed by the Emperor of Morocco for captives, redeemed seventeen years before.

This information being first obtained by the officers, they lost no time in endeavouring to escape, which they happily effected, by means of the Phoenix's barge sent ashore by the captain well manned and armed for that purpose. Apprehensive that any attempt of the whole to escape might endanger their own liberty, they advised the others to keep quiet, and the consul would next day procure their liberty. In this manner, the captain, his three lieutenants, and the lieutenant of marines, escaped. After they had got on board, the captain sent a boat in the night to ply along shore, and carry off as many as could be found. But no sooner had the barge of the Phoenix got the officers a musket-shot from shore, than the town was alarmed; and the Moors discovering that part of their booty was irrecoverably lost, breathed nothing but revenge for the disappointment: therefore, those of the mariners left behind were drove to the town jail, with every mark of infamy and reproach.

No adequate idea can be formed of this loath-



some place; the cells in Newgate, destined for the reception of the most atrocious criminals, cannot be compared to it. The pittance which had originally been allowed the people was withdrawn, and for almost three successive days, they received no kind of sustenance. The governor of the town had so little compassion, that when their wretched state was explained to him, he only answered, with derision, "If the unbelieving dogs are hungry, let them eat the stones."

Permission was at length obtained, by one endowed with more humanity, for them to beg about the town in the day-time, under the eye of a guard. But notwithstanding this indulgence, the inhabitants proved little acquainted with charity, and only a slender subsistence was given, inso-much that when one of the seamen accidentally succeeded, the others were like to tear him to pieces for a part of his gains. Every night they were obliged to return to the dark and dismal dungeons appropriated for their reception.

Thus they continued above two months, begging through the day, and closely confined all night, and then were told that they should shortly be conducted to the presence of the emperor. This was alarming news; they were no strangers to his arbitrary and despotic disposition, and thence unanimously resolved, if possible, to break out and make their escape before an order should come to remove them. Accordingly they made the attempt, which unhappily proved abortive.

Iron chains were immediately locked round their necks, and twenty of them linked together; they were deprived of sustenance, and confined in a dungeon, where daylight scarcely penetrated. Their miseries there were intolerable; but no one

can form any idea of what he is able to endure until he be put to the test.

What these unfortunate seamen suffered from hunger, induced them to entertain thoughts of putting one of their number to death, in order that his body might support the rest. The shock occasioned by this proposal was excessive, and it was never put in execution, though each was ready to eat the flesh off his own bones. The jailor, on their complaints, remonstrated with the people of the town that they were about to perish, whence two little cakes for each man, and eight small sheep, were provided. Two of the sheep they instantly devoured raw, for they had wanted food four days and nights.

An order now came to transmit the seamen under a proper guard to Bufcoran, about 200 miles distant, where the emperor would receive them in his camp. On the 18th of May, therefore, after they had been between four and five months at Tangier, they were drove out of the prison unchained, and conducted without the town walls. They marched ten miles, guarded by three hundred men, who made a circular encampment at night, in the centre of which the prisoners lay on the ground. On the third day they arrived at a sea-port town called Larache, where they were confined twelve days in prison. During the march, they had been supplied only with bread and water.

Early on the 2d of June, their progress was resumed, and on the 9th, they reached the emperor's camp at Bufcoran, ten miles distant from Mcquinez. They halted about sixty paces from his tent, and in a few minutes he came forth, mounted his horse, and surveyed them and other things pre-

sented to him. He then sent for four Englishmen, who had deserted from the Spanish service at Cadiz, and had been a year in Morocco. His people next conducted the captives, for such they were now to be considered, to a castle at a little distance, there to remain until further orders. They had not been long there, before the governor of Tangier and his attendants were driven into the castle, and ironed in the same manner as the seamen had been by him at Tangier. Now they reflected that he might repent his inhuman answer, that they might eat the stones to satisfy their hunger: nevertheless many gave him bread, though they were themselves allowed only twopence a day for subsistence.

Soon after the emperor ordered the captives to be ranged before him, and then selected six of the youngest, whom he sent to the castle to assist the Moors, who had the charge of his arms. He commanded the remainder to be provided with a pickaxe, and sent them to Buscoran Castle to commence the operations of their slavery.

Immediately on their arrival, they were employed in pulling down buildings; and the emperor often came to superintend the work, and give directions about removing the rubbish, when he sometimes staid five or six hours, and even a whole day. But his anxiety for the completion of the work was such, that the captives were not allowed a moment's rest, nor to stand upright to stretch themselves; neither were they supplied with a single drop of water, though the heat of the sun was so great that their heads and backs were in one entire blister.

Under these distressing circumstances, many of the people proposed to abjure their religion, and



become Mahometans, being the only means of redeeming themselves from such oppressive slavery. And, in fact, before a month had elapsed, twenty of them, and also eight Englishmen who were previously in Barbary, forsook Christianity. Those who apostatize, however, in this manner, though protected by the laws of the country, are never trusted or esteemed by the original followers of Mahomet.

The emperor came to Buscoran Castle, to survey the works, the fourth day after the arrival of the captives. He then went about ten o'clock to the other castle, where the governor of Tangier and his miserable companions had lain five days in chains on the bare ground, without the smallest allowance of provisions. If they were supplied with a little water to allay their thirst, it was conveyed by some compassionate friend, who hazarded his life for his humanity. Having viewed these unfortunate wretches, the emperor withdrew about sixty paces from the castle towards his camp, when, turning round, he gave orders that they should all be brought out before him.\* Whenever they were arranged in the form required, the governor, three sons of the late bashaw, and another principal inhabitant of Tangier, were unchained, and set apart from the rest. Then with all possible serenity the emperor desired his armour-bearer to bring him his scimeter. He drew it from the scabbard, with a countenance as composed as if he had been going to exercise a body of troops.

One of the delinquents was next commanded to be loosened from his chains, and brought before him: the unhappy man, aware of his approaching fate, fell prostrate, and with tears implored mercy. All entreaties were vain, for the emperor,



without regarding them, exclaimed, "In the name of God!" and with one blow struck off his head. This done, he returned his scimeter to the armour-bearer, with orders for him and his assistants to follow the same example; and retiring a short way off, stood to see his orders executed. In this manner were no less than three hundred and thirty victims massacred to glut his diabolical vengeance. Included in the number were thirty-nine offenders previously at the camp. The death of a fortieth anticipated the like punishment; but his unfortunate comrades were obliged to drag along his putrid body, linked as it was by the neck, in the same chain; for no one dared to remove it without an express command. To impress his subjects with still greater terror, the emperor ordered all the severed heads to be collected in hampers, and sent to the governor of Mequinez, to be fixed on the walls of that city, exposed to public view. The carcases were dragged a mile from the place of execution, and then left for food to wild beasts and birds of prey.

The governor of Tangier, the three sons of the late bashaw, and the other person, who were freed of their chains before the massacre to be spectators of it, were petrified with horror at the sight, and full of apprehension that they were reserved for sufferings still more severe. At length the emperor approaching them, spoke without any emotion, warning them of the spectacle they beheld, and advising them to send and take care that his affairs be properly administered at Tangier in future. By this means he intended to extort a sum of money from their friends, which not following according to his expectations, he summoned them once more before him, and gave orders for their immediate exe-

cution. He previously told them, however, that having promised they should not die by the sword, now that their lives were forfeited by a second neglect, they should all suffer by the bow-string. Hereupon two of his guards were selected, who were employed to strangle them, one after another: which they did with all imaginable deliberation, in obedience to the orders of the emperor, to take a moderate time in the execution; and notwithstanding the small number of victims, it occupied two hours.

Such was the master whom the English captives were destined to serve; his known barbarity made them tremble: when they saw such cruelties exercised on his own subjects, they could not suppose that he would pay much regard to those of a foreign state, and their anxiety increased, from being repeatedly informed, that he constantly spoke in the most disrespectful terms of the British government.

On the 29th of June, they were somewhat encouraged by learning the consul's arrival at Mequinez. The emperor, on the same day, summoning the whole before him, selected sixteen of the youngest, and asked them if they would turn Mahometans. This they refused, on which he immediately dispatched them under a proper guard to Fez, to assist his gunsmiths.

The hopes of an ambassador's arrival, who was expected from Great Britain, supported the captives during their trials; for it was found that the consul could render them no assistance. At length Mr Kilbs, master of the privateer, totally worn out with fatigue, fainted at his work: the emperor seeing him stretched on the ground, inquired why the overseers admitted of such indolence; and on

their explaining the cause, ordered that he should be brought before him. Three Moors, therefore, carried Mr Kilbs; and the emperor, satisfied that he was truly in the agonies of death, desired him to be conveyed to the outer part of the castle, where the captives lodged; and there he soon expired. He was, at the close of their daily labour, interred by his comrades, as decently as their circumstances would admit.

The cruelty of the emperor excited a revolt among his subjects, and the Tangerines among the first; in consequence of which he removed the captives from working at the castle of Bufcoran to his other castle. They now underwent more excessive fatigue than before; they were continually exposed to the rays of the sun during the hottest season of the year, and at last, their skins, being almost naked, became so tanned, that their most intimate acquaintance would hardly have recognised them.

The insurgents having collected their forces, attacked the emperor's troops, and obliged them to retreat into the castle, and then set fire to the camp on the 4th of September. Next morning the emperor marched out with his whole army, which he divided in two parts, and ordered his baggage, together with the women, children, converts, and Christian slaves, to advance in front. In this order they proceeded to Mequinez, greatly harassed on the way by the enemy, who had taken possession of many advantageous posts: there were numbers killed and wounded on each side. Having arrived at Mequinez, all the army, but the bodyguards, were encamped without the walls for the night. But the poor captives, however, fatigued by the day's march, got no respite. They were



kept hard at work till midnight, unloading the emperor's baggage, and removing quantities of it from place to place.

• He then marched out against the rebels, and after some success returned to his palace at Mequinez, where the Christian captives were drawn up, rank and file, to pay him homage. At his approach, he stopped short and surveyed them; then asking the overseer what place was appointed for their lodging, he was told that they were stationed at the foot of a wall, where they slept. The emperor looking around, saw an open arch in front of one of the buildings in his garden, and desired they might be quartered there in future, as a more comfortable place. This being the first act of humanity they ever experienced from him, they warmly congratulated each other, and began to think their affairs wore a better aspect. Besides, they were much relieved by obtaining shelter under this covering from the nocturnal dews. Nevertheless, they were otherwise but little protected; for the malicious Moors repeatedly disturbed them, pelting clods of earth, and sometimes stones at them, in the night. Luckily there grew within the enclosures of the gardens several hedges of canes, of which they contrived to weave a fence towards the opening of the arch, sufficient to guard them against such cowardly attacks.

The insurrection was in one way beneficial to the captives, by diverting the attention of their masters to more important affairs, whence they had some intermission of the labour that would otherwise have been imposed upon them. Had not the emperor been driven from Buscoran Castle, the majority would inevitably have perished from excessive fatigue. They had also an increase of



allowance of twopence a-day for each, and were permitted to go into the town to expend it to the best advantage.

They were at a loss how to account for this relaxation of the severities imposed on them, and could only ascribe it to one source, namely, intelligence that the expected ambassador had arrived at Gibraltar, which would soon be followed by his appearance at Mequinez, and consequently their deliverance.

While the captives were indulging these flattering hopes, they were hastily summoned to appear before the emperor, and they all anticipated no less than that the hour of their liberation was come. They joyfully obeyed the order; but what was their mortification, to be commanded speedily to remove an enormous pile of wood standing in the emperor's way, to a quarter of a mile's distance.

Here they were laboriously occupied two days, at the expiration of which time the emperor expressed considerable displeasure, that some of the work yet remained to be done; and an hundred of the foot-guards were, next morning ordered to assist. Two superannuated soldiers, finding themselves unable for the task, desisted; and on this being angrily remarked by the emperor, they addressed him in the most humble and submissive terms, expressing, that absolute incapacity was the sole cause of their cessation from labour, and reminding him that they had served his father, Muley Ismael, eighteen years in the army; whence they entreated him to pity their infirmities, and charitably allow them some support during the short remainder of a life hitherto devoted to the service of his father and himself. To this pathetic remonstrance, the emperor replied, that he plain-

ly observed they were unable to labour longer, therefore he thought it his duty to secure them against the evils of old age and poverty; and he instantly ordered both to be shot through the head.

After the captives finished the removal of the wood, they were remanded to their lodgings under the arch, and for six weeks that they remained at Mequinez, experienced no more hard labour; though some were by rotation always occupied. Being accidentally employed by an overseer to work without the emperor's own command, he discovered it, and immediately bastinadoed, and degraded the overseer, which rendered the other Moors more cautious about occupying the Christians.

In addition to these favourable circumstances, they were first visited by the emperor's aid-de-camp, to acquaint them, that he had delivered a letter from the governor of Tetuan to the emperor, notifying an ambassador's arrival at Gibraltar; and in the next place, one of the emperor's brothers came to them the same evening, confirming the news, and assuring them that he had heard the emperor say he would readily release them, if the ambassador had any thing reasonable to offer in their behalf.

Meantime the insurgents were plundering the caravans near Fez, so that the emperor determined to march against them. Accordingly, on the 24th of October, the captives got notice that they were appointed to accompany him the following morning at break of day, as his army was then to be under arms without the walls of Mequinez.

Bad weather prevailed during the whole of the 25th, the soil was slippery and difficult to travel over, and at sunset the army was still eleven miles from Fez. The emperor was extremely

anxious to get forward that night; and as he passed the captives, remarked their dirty, wet, and wearied condition; whereon he pointed forwards, intimating that their fatigues would end at the town, called them good men, and ordered a detachment of troops to take care of them and bring them up. No sooner was he out of sight, however, than the troops, as anxious to get forward as he was, deserted their charge, and followed him. Now left to themselves, the captives struggled to advance, finding the roads always worse, and their exertions greater. Several incapable of proceeding, lagged behind and lay on the wet ground all night; and some who reached Fez, took whatever shelter they could find, till morning. Next day, the stragglers dropped in one by one, but so much injured by the fatigue of the march, and exposure through the night, that several were lamed, and two died soon afterwards.

At Fez, the captives saw their young companions, whom the emperor had selected to assist his gun-smiths there; but owing to the rebellion of the city, they were reduced to great straits for want of subsistence, having nothing but what their masters afforded them, who had very little to themselves.

On the 12th of November, the captives obtained a confirmation of the ambassador's arrival at Gibraltar; and on the 22d they received a letter from himself, pathetically lamenting their situation, and expressing his hopes of procuring their release; he encouraged them to abandon all views of turning Mahometans, which, they had communicated by a letter to him, some time preceding, they were greatly urged to do. This was accompanied with



a packet of letters from their friends in England, which highly elated the whole.

However, their labour was soon resumed, and they were employed about a fortress two miles from Fez, which the emperor designed to rebuild. There they were occupied without intermission, with exception of Sundays, from day-break until night, and all the time received an allowance of only one penny daily.

Finding their health impaired by this scanty subsistence, they resolved to apply to the emperor himself, notwithstanding the dissuasion of other Christian captives, who were apprehensive of a general massacre ensuing on such a hardy request. Nevertheless, after delaying some time by their solicitation, they at length resolved to run the hazard. Fortunately it pleased the emperor to lend a gracious ear to their suit, and order their allowance to be doubled. Thus their fear of starving was dissipated, and they received the thanks of all the other Christians, French Spanish, and Portuguese.

On the 20th of February 1747, the English were commanded to dig a trench for the foundation of a new castle, the dimensions of which were to extend twelve yards beyond the walls of the old one. The trench was finished in a fortnight, and then they began to erect the building, which was accomplished thus: The materials taken from the old walls were reduced almost to powder, and mixed with a quantity of fine loamy earth, well tempered with lime and water. A wooden case, corresponding to the thickness, height, and length of the intended wall, being erected and well secured, the captives filled it about eighteen inches high with the materials prepared, and then beat and trod them down until they became like paste. In this



manner they proceeded, depositing one stratum above another, until they had filled the case, which being removed, left the whole wall like one smooth stone. This, hardening in the sun, became stronger than any European structure.

The keeper of the captives, an old man of a spiteful and covetous disposition, used every means to draw a profit from their miserable pittance, and beat them unmercifully when they complained. Those unable to support such treatment deserted to the rebels, and their flight reaching the emperor's ears, he ordered the others to be more narrowly looked after. Sanctioned by this, the cruelty of the keeper had no bounds; he would sometimes drag them along by the beard until he tore it out by the roots; on which they threatened to complain to the emperor himself, but only received contumely in return.

The following day, Mr Nelson, one of the midshipmen, prostrated himself before the emperor, and, intimating that his unacquaintance with the language prevented him from making his case known, prayed that Manss, a Dutchman, who had been fifteen years a captive, and was in great favour, inasmuch that he had the charge both of stores and money, might act as interpreter. Manss was immediately sent for, and the complaint made; at the same time explaining that the keeper's treatment was the cause why the three had fled.

The keeper next morning, according to the emperor's command, appeared before him, with a baton in his hand, at least four inches thick. Four English captives, whom he had cruelly used the preceding night, were also sent for: and on the keeper being asked the cause of such treatment, he answered, they had sung and been noisy in the

night-time. Felix Conway, one of them, who had been sixteen years captive, and could speak the language well, at Mr Nelson's instigation, told the emperor that the keeper beat them with the large stick then in his hand : whereon the emperor ordered four of equal size to be brought, adding, " let them be good ones." The terrified keeper then cried for pardon ; but he was extended on the ground, and each of the captives having got a stick, was commanded to break it on the keeper's bones, under the alternative of having it broke on his own. During the performance of this injunction, the emperor several times cried out, " Beat him on the head ;" and as fast as the sticks were broke, others were supplied. In nearly fifteen minutes, thinking the man dead, he exclaimed, " enough," and remanded the four captives to their usual labour : the keeper was dragged away, and expired an hour afterwards. All the slaves rejoiced at his death, and thought themselves particularly indebted to the English.

There was now an engagement with the rebels, in which they were worsted : while it lasted, the captives were stationed at the great guns on the towers of Fez, thinking they would be able to serve them better than the Moors. The rebels, nevertheless, again encamped on the 20th of December 1747, in considerable force, near the same spot which they had before occupied, and another battle ensued, which endured from noon until dark. Next morning it was renewed, when the malcontents were defeated, leaving great numbers of slain on the field. The emperor, however, contented with his victory, proved less sanguinary than formerly ; and though the governor of Sallee, one of the rebellious, was taken and brought prisoner,

he not only pardoned him, but presented him with a horse, and sent him back to the town to assure the inhabitants of his royal mercy.

Four of the emperor's horses being committed to the charge of as many captives, Alexander Scot, one of them, fell asleep with the bridle in his hand, one night while on duty, during which the gold breast-plate of the horse was stolen. The horses were led in the morning, as usual, to the back of the royal tent, that the emperor might select which he chose. Scot, still ignorant of his loss, sat eating a crust on the ground, when an alcaide, charged with overseeing the horses, surprised him with a smart stroke, crying, "Where, Sirrah, is the horse's breast-plate?" Scot was struck dumb at missing it, and the other Moors employed about the horse, for there were four besides, told him that he must ask the emperor for a new breast-plate, who would either give him one or shoot him through the body. The emperor soon came to view the horses, and the Moors left Scot alone to answer for it: when imploring mercy, he acknowledged he had lost the breast-plate. The emperor ordered him immediately to go for another; and thinking himself pardoned, he quickly appeared with his horse before the emperor in a new one of silver, which he got from the store-keeper. He was desired to wait without the walls, when the emperor, then at the castle where the captives were at work, sent every one out of it, except the bearer of his lance and musket. As the captives passed, they bid Scot farewell, conceiving that his last hour was come. The emperor then asked him where he was when the breast-plate was stolen; and Scot making frivolous excuses, he levelled the musket at his head, saying, "Villain, tell me no lies!" and afterwards

made feints of killing him with his spear. The poor man fell on his face, so terrified that, when taken up, he could not stand: and the emperor thinking him sufficiently punished by the fright, dismissed him. However, he was maltreated by the Moorish soldiers, displeased at this act of lenity, and the care of his horse was given to another Christian.

During a fast of Ramadan, which immediately followed, Scot observed the strap of the breastplate hanging from a bag on a Moor's back. He seized him, and, with the assistance of other captives, dragged him before the emperor, where the thief not being able to exculpate himself, he was stripped and laid on his back, with six attendants securing him. The emperor then taking a knife from his own side, delivered it to one of the guards, with an order to cut the culprit's throat, which was instantly executed.

The Moors for some time testified an inclination to revenge the death of their countryman, the late keeper, on the captives, and Mr Nelson, was peculiarly marked out for vengeance. The overseer laid him on his face, and bastinadoed him until he almost expired. But the threats of the rest to complain to the emperor, and the report of his approaching return, entirely altered their conduct, and the captives were sometimes allowed to remain idle for a whole day together.

On the 20th of July 1748, the castle at which they were working, called Doer Dabibah, was completed. It was of a square form, each side measuring 260 yards in length, 8 yards high, and 4 feet thick, and inclosing between five and six acres of ground. After finishing it, the captives were



employed a considerable time in filling up a large pit from which materials had been dug.

They now received intelligence from the ambassador, that he would obtain their release as speedily as possible ; and on the 31st of October they got a letter from the consul, acquainting them that the bearers of it had orders to conduct them to Tetuan, and that he had provided blanket cloaks, shoes, and some mules for the journey. They were inexpressibly overjoyed at the happy prospect of deliverance, and were congratulated by the Christians of other nations, who nevertheless could not avoid shedding tears of regret for their own hopeless condition. Nothing but extreme want of money could ever induce the emperor to release a Spaniard or Portuguese.

.. On the 12th of November the captives were ordered to leave off work and prepare for their journey. At parting, their black overseer said, "Now, I have no more to do with you ; and if ever you catch me in your country, I expect no better usage than you have had here." Four of the youngest were selected and sent to Mequinez to the emperor, to remain until the ambassador paid his demands, as he designed to present them to the king without ransom. They parted sorrowfully from their companions, as they entertained little hope of following them to England. The others arrived at Tetuan on the twentieth of the month.

The captives were there put into prison, where they got some provisions, and were allowed five-pence a-day, the same as the allowance to prisoners of war: some of them were permitted to go about the town, though under a guard, to buy necessities ; and next week received a soldier's clothing from the ambassador at Gibraltar, which was a

great change to them, having gone so long almost naked.

The ambassador landed on the 4th of January 1749, which was held as a day of rejoicing, or holiday, in the city; and the captives, on the news of his arrival, hoisted a union flag, which they had prepared, on the top of their prison. Next day they presented an address to him, wherein, demonstrating the state of the place of their confinement, one half of them were removed to another prison in the Jews quarter.

Some time having elapsed without any steps adopted towards their redemption, the governor of Tetuan desired that the ambassador might expedite the business; and, after several conferences, threatened to shut them up in the Metammor, a deep dungeon. Terrified at this, they sent a memorial to the ambassador, who answered, that he had done, and should do, every thing towards their redemption that his instructions would admit of. It appeared that he refused to deposit the redemption money until the captives were on board the ship that brought himself: the governor informed them of this, and said he would retain them no longer in Tetuan. But on the ambassador engaging to send for the money immediately to Gibraltar, they were allowed their usual indulgences. Accordingly, a ship having sailed and another returned without the money, the governor informed the captives that he would send them back in irons to the emperor.

At length as much money came as would redeem twenty-five: these were selected by the governor, and each having received a certificate from the ambassador, he dismissed them with wishes for a hap-

py voyage : and on the 19th they set sail for Gibraltar.

The remaining twenty-seven beheld the departure of the vessel carrying their comrades with longing eyes : however, they consoled themselves with the hopes of her speedy return. Three weeks afterwards, a vessel accordingly arrived from Cadiz, bringing money for their redemption, and they were all elated to the highest degree at the prospect of immediate liberation.

But, to the great mortification of the captives, the consul brought information that the emperor had commanded the governor not to part with them until he received the whole redemption money formerly paid to the late bashaw, Hamet. Above eight thousand pounds had been paid to this officer, who, instead of transmitting it to the emperor, employed it in supporting a rebellion against him. The ambassador now represented to the governor, that he was ready to pay L.4399, as the redemption of the captives ; but as to the other sum, Hamet's family must account for it, as he had refused to deliver the captives until it had been paid. The governor replied, that, if the emperor's claims were not satisfied, he would first confine them in the Metammor, and then send both them and himself to the emperor in irons. He was so confident in the efficacy of his threats, that he wrote to the emperor that he had actually received the L.4399, and 350 Mexico dollars as head-money.

This being the state of affairs, the ambassador dispatched the first-lieutenant of the Nightingale to England, with intelligence of his situation, on the 28th of April. In about two months he returned ; and the governor, finding no money, could, with difficulty, be restrained from sending the cap-



tives to Fez. The ambassador, to prevent an attack on the British ships, which the governor threatened, gave a promissory note for payment of his whole demand in two months.

This time having also elapsed without payment, the governor was obliged to raise the sum by a contribution from the town, to satisfy the emperor's demands; and, out of resentment, he confined the captives in the Metammor. When they had lain there about three weeks, Commodore Keppel entered the bay with his squadron, and promised to pay the L. 4599, which the governor now consented to take, and wait for the rest until an answer came from England, as the consul had gone thither in September to explain matters to the ministry. The captives were released from the dungeon; however, the commodore, not performing his promise, they were soon remitted to it.

The governor of Tetuan, enraged at a sharp remonstrance by the governor of Gibraltar, ordered a party of soldiers to invest the ambassador's house; his secretary was dragged away, and, along with a Portuguese servant of the ambassador's, confined in the Metammor. The ambassador himself was arrested, and a set of heavy irons brought to his house, which would have been put on him, had not the English merchants interposed with the governor. His property was seized, as also part of the presents intended for the emperor. Two Moors were placed at his street-door, and two soldiers at the door of his chamber, and not a letter could reach him, until opened and interpreted to the governor. In addition to these indignities, the governor wrote an account of what he had done to General Bland, the governor of Gib-



raltar, with a threat of seizing the effects of the English merchants at Tetuan.

General Bland immediately shewed his resentment of the insult, by seizing the persons and effects of the Moorish merchants within his jurisdiction, and informed the governor of Tetuan, that he should send no money, though he had the L. 4399, until he had express orders from England to do so.

After the ambassador's secretary had lain twenty-three days in the Metammor, which is a pit twenty feet deep, humid by springs rising within it, and without light or air, except what penetrates by a little hole at the top, through which the Moors cast dead dogs, cats, and stones, down upon the captives, his health became so much impaired as to endanger his life. This being represented to the governor, he was permitted to return to the ambassador's, but prohibited from going abroad wanting a guard. The spirited conduct of General Bland, besides, produced a clamour among the Moorish merchants of Tetuan against the governor, who had also enough of enemies among the principal people; he therefore lost all hopes of succeeding in his demands through severity. Accordingly, the ambassador and his household were liberated, and the commerce with Gibraltar, which had been totally interrupted, restored to its usual course. None of the English vessels would approach Tetuan from apprehension of seizure. The captives likewise were set at liberty, when they had been confined fifty days in the dungeon, limited to a slender allowance, and exposed to the imposition of the Moors, from having nobody to trust with procuring their provisions.

The captives, however, were not allowed to remain idle. A few days after leaving the Metam-

mor, they were conducted some distance from the town walls, and set to assist the shipwrights, who were building a forty-oared galley. She was to mount nine guns and twenty swivels, and carry 250 men; her keel was ninety feet, and her breadth twenty. Here they were occupied some months, being led from their prison in the morning, and remanded to it at night. Many of the Moors employed along with them died of the plague; however, they all escaped it.

• Meantime, animosities between the principal men and the governor of Tetuan, arose to such a height, that one day, while at prayers in a mosque, he was assassinated. This was, in general, considered the highest profanation, as the mosques are sanctuaries for the greatest criminals. A new governor being chosen by the inhabitants, he sent a present to the emperor, and was confirmed. He was also empowered to continue the negotiation concerning the redemption of the captives.

In November 1750, the consul went to Gibraltar, and came back to Tetuan, where, after settling the terms of redemption with the governor and ambassador, he returned to Gibraltar for the money. He remained there until obtaining information of the new governor's powers to proceed, and once more came to Tetuan in his majesty's ship *Sea-Horse*, on the 7th of December. The governor received immediate notice of his arrival, on which the captives were ordered to the water-side for embarkation.

Next day the consul and governor finally adjusted their redemption, and they were ordered into the boats that were to carry them on board the *Sea-Horse*. This was so eagerly obeyed, that they ran into the water as deep as the waist, each thinking himself happiest that could get in first.

On the 9th the ship cast anchor in the Bay of Gibraltar, from whence the captives returned to England as speedily as possible.

The first party of twenty-five had arrived on the 11th of May 1749. The four sent to the emperor were employed in their former occupations, and being ransomed in the beginning of the year 1751, embarked on board the Nightingale on the 11th of April, glad to escape from the clutches of the emperor, who was reported, during twenty-four years that he had reigned, to have massacred 10,000 Moors and 7000 whites. They reached London in May and June.

On a representation of the sufferings of the captives to the king, he was pleased to order them a bounty of five pounds each. Thus, of the whole crew, ninety-six were killed and drowned, seven escaped, fifty-seven were released, twenty-one turned Mahometans, and twenty-two left the ship before she was wrecked, making 205 persons in all.

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The captives besides experienced great consideration on their return to Britain. The Jews in London supplied them with clothing, and shewed them many acts of kindness. Mr Rich, manager of one of the principal theatres, presented each with five pounds, and devoted the emoluments of a night's performance to their use; the proprietor of another public exhibition did the like, on which occasion they appeared in iron chains and collars, such as they had wore in slavery.

Some of the crew of the Inspector long survived the misfortunes so destructive to the rest. Thomas Troughton, one of those who contributed materials for the preceding narrative, died in the year 1806, at the advanced age of 114.

## BURNING OF THE PRINCE,

A FRENCH EAST INDIAMAN, 1752. BY LIEUTENANT DE LA FOND.

On the 19th of February 1752, a French East Indiaman, called the Prince, sailed from Port L'Orient on a voyage outward bound. But soon afterwards, a sudden shift of wind drove her on a sand bank, where she was exposed to imminent danger, and heeled so much that the mouths of the guns lay in the sea. By lightening the ship, however, accompanied by laborious and incessant exertions, she floated with the rise of the tide, and, being again carried into port, was completely unloaded, and underwent a thorough repair.

The voyage was resumed on the 10th of June, with a favourable wind, and, for several weeks, seemed to promise every success that could be desired.

While in south latitude  $8^{\circ} 30'$ , and in  $5^{\circ}$  west longitude from Paris, M. de la Fond, one of the lieutenants of the ship, was, just at the moment of this observation, informed by a seaman that smoke was issuing from the main hatchway. The first lieutenant, who had the keys of the hold, immediately ordered every hatchway to be opened to ascertain the truth.



But the fact was too soon verified, and, while the captain hastened on deck from the great cabin where he sat at dinner, 'Lieutenant de la Fond ordered some sails to be dipped in the sea, and the hatches to be covered with them in order to prevent the access of air, and thus stifle the fire. He had even intended, as a more effectual measure, to let in the water between decks to the depth of a foot, but clouds of smoke issued from the crevices of the hatchways, and the flames gained more and more by degrees.

Meantime, the captain ordered sixty or eighty soldiers under arms, to restrain any disorder and confusion which might probably ensue; and in this he was supported by their commander, M. de la Touche, who exhibited uncommon fortitude on the occasion.

Every one was now employed in procuring water; all the buckets were filled, the pumps plied, and pipes introduced from them to the hold. But the rapid progress of the flames baffled the exertions to subdue them, and augmented the general consternation.

The yawl, lying in the way of the people, was hoisted out by order of the captain, and the boatswain, along with three others, took possession of it. Wanting oars, they were supplied with some by other three men who leaped overboard. Those in the ship, however, desired them to return, but they exclaimed, that they wanted a rudder, and desired a rope to be thrown out. However, the progress of the flames soon shewing them their only alternative for safety, they withdrew from the ship, and she, from the effect of a breeze springing up, passed by.

On board the utmost activity still prevailed, and the courage of the people seemed to be augmented by the difficulty of escape. The master boldly went down into the hold, but the intense heat compelled him to return, and, had not a quantity of water been dashed over him, he would have been severely scorched. Immediately subsequent to this period, flames violently burst from the main hatchway.

At that time the captain ordered the boats to be got out, while consternation enfeebled the most intrepid. The long-boat had been secured at a certain height, and she was about to be put over the ship's side, when, unhappily, the fire ran up the mainmast, and caught the tackle; the boat fell down on the guns, bottom upwards, and it was vain to think of getting her righted.

At length it became too evident that the calamity was beyond the reach of human remedy; nothing but the mercy of the Almighty could interpose; consternation was universally disseminated among the people; nothing but sighs and groans resounded through the vessel, and the very animals on board, as if sensible of the impending danger, uttered the most dreadful cries. The certainty of perishing in either element was anticipated by every human being here, and each raised his heart and hands towards Heaven.

The chaplain, who was now on the quarter-deck, gave the people general absolution for their sins, and then repaired to the quarter-gallery, to extend it yet farther, to those miserable wretches who, in hopes of safety, had already committed themselves to the waves. What a horrible spectacle! Self-preservation was the only object; each was occupied in throwing overboard whatever

promised the most slender chance of escape, yards, spars, hen-coops, and every thing occurring, was seized in despair, and thus employed.

Dreadful confusion prevailed. Some leaped into the sea, anticipating that death which was about to reach them ; others, more successful, swam to fragments of wreck ; while the shrouds, yards, and ropes, along the side of the vessel, were covered with the crew crowding upon them, and hanging there, as if hesitating which alternative of destruction to choose, equally imminent and equally terrible.

A father was seen to snatch his son from the flames, fold him to his breast, and, then throwing him into the sea, himself followed, where they perished in each other's embrace.

Meantime Lieutenant de la Fond ordered the helm to be shifted. The ship heeled to larboard, which afforded a temporary preservation, while the fire raged along the starboard from stem to stern.

Lieutenant de la Fond had, until this moment, been engrossed by nothing but adopting every means to preserve the ship : now, however, the horrors of impending destruction were too conspicuously in view. His fortitude, notwithstanding, through the goodness of Heaven, never forsook him : looking around, he found himself alone on the deck, and he retired to the round-house. There he met M. de la Touche, who regarded the approach of death with the same heroism which, in India, had gained him celebrity. " My brother and friend," he cried, " farewell."—" Whither are you going ?" asked Lieutenant de la Fond. " To comfort my friend, the captain," he replied.

M. Morin, who commanded this unfortunate

vessel, stood overwhelmed with grief for the melancholy state of his female relatives, passengers along with him. He had persuaded them to commit themselves to the waves on hen-coops, while some of the scamen, swimming with one hand, endeavoured to support them with the other.

The floating masts and yards were covered with men struggling with the watery element, many of whom now perished by balls discharged from the guns & heated by the fire, and thus presenting a third means of destruction, augmenting the horrors environing them. While anguish pierced the heart of M. de la Fond, he withdrew his eyes from the sea; and a moment after, reaching the star-board gallery, he saw the flames bursting with frightful noise through the windows of the round-house and of the great cabin. The fire approached, and was ready to consume him. Considering it vain to attempt the further preservation of the ship, or the lives of his fellow-sufferers, he thought it his duty, in this dreadful condition, to save himself yet a few hours, that these might be devoted to Heaven.

Stripping off his clothes, he designed slipping down a yard, one end of which dipped in the water; but it was so covered with miserable beings, shrinking from death, that he tumbled over them and fell into the sea. There a drowning soldier caught hold of him: Lieutenant de la Fond made every exertion to disengage himself, but in vain; he even allowed himself to sink below the surface, yet he did not quit his grasp. Lieutenant de la Fond plunged down a second time; still he was firmly held by the man, who then was incapable of considering that his death, instead of being of service, would rather hasten his own. At last, after



struggling a considerable time, and swallowing a great quantity of water, the soldier's strength failed; and sensible that Lieutenant de la Fond was sinking a third time, he dreaded being carried down along with him, and loosened his grasp. No sooner was this done, than M. de la Fond, to guard against a repetition, dived below the surface, and rose at a distance from the place.

This incident rendered him more cautious for the future; he even avoided the dead bodies, now so numerous, that to make a free passage, he was compelled to shove them aside with one hand, while he kept himself floating with the other; for he was impressed with the apprehension, that each was a person who would seize him, and involve him in his own destruction. But strength beginning to fail, he was satisfied of the necessity of some respite, when he fell in with part of the ensign-staff. He put his arm through a noose of the rope to secure it, and swam as well as he could; then perceiving a yard at hand, he seized it by one end. However, beholding a young man scarce able to support himself at the other extremity, he quickly abandoned so slight an aid, and one which seemed incapable of contributing to his preservation. Next the spritsail-yard appeared in view, but covered with people, among whom he durst not take a place without requesting permission, which they cheerfully granted. Some were quite naked, others in nothing except their shirts; the pity they expressed at the situation of Lieutenant de la Fond, and his sense of their misfortunes, exposed his feelings to a severe trial.

Neither Captain Morin, nor M. de la Touche ever quitted the ship, and were most probably overwhelmed in the catastrophe by which she was

destroyed. But the most dismal spectacle was exhibited on all sides; the main-mast, consumed below, had been precipitated overboard, killing some by its fall, and affording a temporary reception to others. Lieutenant de la Fond now observed it covered with people, driven about by the waves; and at the same time, seeing two seamen buoyed up by a hen-coop and some planks, desired them to swim to him with the latter; they did so, accompanied by more of their comrades, and each taking a plank, which were used for oars, they and he paddled along upon the yard, until gaining those who had secured themselves on the main-mast. So many alternations only presented new spectacles of horror.

The chaplain was at this time on the mast, and from him Lieutenant de la Fond received absolution; two young ladies were also there, whose piety and resignation were truly consolatory; they were the only survivors of six; their companions had perished in the flames, or in the sea. Eighty persons had found refuge on the main-mast, who, from the repeated discharges of cannon from the ship, according to the progress of the flames, were constantly exposed to destruction. The chaplain, in this awful condition, by his discourse and example, taught the duty of resignation. Lieutenant de la Fond observing him lose his hold on the mast, and drop into the sea, lifted him up. "Let me go," said he, "I am already half-drowned, and it is only protracting my sufferings."—"No, my friend," the lieutenant replied, "when my strength is exhausted, but not till then, we will perish together;" and in his pious presence he calmly awaited death. After remaining here three hours, he beheld one of the ladies fall from the mast and

perish. She was too remote to receive any assistance from him.

But when least in expectation of it, he saw the yawl close at hand, at five in the afternoon. He cried to the men that he was their lieutenant, and requested to be allowed to participate in their fate. His presence was too necessary for them to refuse his solicitation, they needed a conductor who might guide them to the land; thus they permitted him to come on board, on condition that he should swim to the yawl. This was a reasonable stipulation; it was to avoid approaching the mast, else, the rest actuated by the same desire of self-preservation, would soon have overloaded the little vessel, and all would have been buried in a watery grave. Lieutenant de la Fond, therefore, summoning up all his strength and courage, was so happy as to reach the seamen. In a little time afterwards, the pilot and master, whom he had left on the mast, followed his example, and swimming towards the yawl, were seen and taken in.

The flames still continued raging in the vessel, and as the yawl was still endangered by being within half a league of her, she stood a little to windward. Not long subsequent to this, the fire reached the magazine; and then to describe the thundering explosion which ensued is impossible. A thick cloud intercepted the light of the sun, and amidst the terrific darkness nothing but pieces of flaming timber, projected aloft into the air, could be seen, threatening to crush to atoms in their fall, numbers of miserable wretches still struggling with the agonies of death. Nor were the party in the yawl beyond the reach of hazard; it was not improbable that some of the fiery fragments might

come down upon them, and precipitate their frail support to the bottom. Though the Almighty preserved them from this calamity, they were shocked with the spectacle environing them. The vessel had now disappeared; the sea, to a great distance, was covered with pieces of wreck, intermingled with the bodies of those unhappy creatures who had perished by their fall. Some were seen who had been choked, others mangled, half consumed, and still retaining life enough to be sensible of the accumulated horrors overwhelming them.

The fortitude of Lieutenant de la Fond was still preserved, through the favour of Heaven, and he proposed approaching the wreck, to see whether any provisions, or necessary articles might be picked up. He and his companions being totally devoid of every thing, were exposed to the hazard of a death even more painful than that which the others had suffered, in perishing of famine. But finding several barrels, which they hoped might contain something to relieve their necessities, they experienced great mortification, on ascertaining that they were part of the powder that had been thrown overboard during the conflagration of their unfortunate vessel.

As night approached, they providentially discovered a cask of brandy, about fifteen pounds of salt pork, a piece of scarlet cloth, twenty yards of linen, a dozen of pipe staves, and a small quantity of cordage. When it became dark, they durst not venture to retain their present station until daylight, without being endangered by the wreck, from the fragments of which they had not then been able to disengage themselves. Therefore they rowed as quickly away as possible from among them,



and bent all their care to the management of the yawl.

The whole began to labour assiduously, and every article which could be converted to use was employed; the lining of the boat was tore up for the sake of the planks and nails; a seaman luckily had two needles, and the linen afforded whatever thread was necessary; the piece of scarlet cloth was substituted for a sail; an oar was erected for a mast, and a plank served for a rudder. The equipment of the boat was soon completed, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, at least as well as circumstances would allow. Yet a great difficulty remained, for wanting charts and instruments, and being nearly 200 leagues from land, the party felt at a loss what course to steer. Resigning themselves to the Almighty, they offered up fervent prayers for his direction.

At length the sail was hoisted, and a favourable breeze soon wafted Lieutenant de la Fond from amidst the bodies of his miserable comrades.

Eight days and nights the adventurers advanced without seeing land; naked and exposed to the scorching heat of the sun by day, and to intense cold by night. But to relieve the thirst which parched them, they availed themselves of a shower of rain, falling on the sixth, and tried to catch a little of it in their mouths and with their hands. They sucked the sail, which was wet with the rain, but from being previously drenched with sea water, it imparted a bitterness to the fresh water which it received. However, they did not complain, for had the rain been heavier, it might have lulled the wind, in the continuance of which they rested their hope of safety.

In order to ascertain the proper course, the ad-

venturers paid daily observance to the rising and setting of the sun and moon, and the position of the stars pointed out how they should steer. All their sustenance meantime was a small piece of pork once in twenty-four hours, and this they were even obliged to relinquish on the fourth day, from the heat and irritation it occasioned of their bodies. Their beverage was a glass of brandy taken from time to time, but it inflamed their stomachs without assuaging the thirst that consumed them. Abundance of flying fish were seen; the impossibility of catching any of which only augmented the pain already endured, though Lieutenant de la Fond and his companions tried to reconcile themselves to the scanty pittance that they possessed. Yet the uncertainty of their destiny, the want of subsistence, and the turbulence of the ocean, all contributed to deprive them of repose, which they so much required, and almost plunged them in despair. Nothing but a feeble ray of hope preserved them under their accumulated sufferings.

The eighth night was passed by Lieutenant de la Fond at the helm; there he had remained above ten hours, after soliciting relief, and at last sunk down under fatigue. His miserable companions were equally exhausted, and despair began to overwhelm the whole.

At last when the united calamities of hunger, thirst, fatigue, and misery, predicted speedy annihilation, the dawn of Wednesday, the 3d of August 1752, shewed this unfortunate crew the distant land. None but those who have experienced the like situation, can form any adequate idea of the change which was produced. Their strength was renovated, and they were aroused to precau-

tions against being drifted away by the current. They reached the coast of Brazil, in 6° of south latitude, and entered Tresson Bay.

The first object of Lieutenant de la Fond and his companions was to return thanks for the gracious protection of heaven: they prostrated themselves on the ground; and then in the transports of joy rolled among the sand.

They exhibited the most frightful appearance; nothing human characterized them, which did not announce their misfortunes in glaring colours. Some were quite naked; others had only shirts, rotten, and tore to rags. Lieutenant de la Fond had fastened a piece of the scarlet cloth about his waist, in order to appear at the head of his companions. Though rescued from imminent danger, they had still to contend with hunger and thirst, and remained in ignorance whether they should meet men endowed with humanity in that region.

While deliberating on the course they should follow, about fifty Portuguese of the settlement, there established, advanced and inquired the cause of their presence. Their misfortunes were soon explained, and the recital of them proved a sufficient claim for supplying their wants. Deeply affected by the account now given, the Portuguese congratulated themselves that it had fallen to their lot to relieve the strangers, and speedily led them to their dwellings. On the way the seamen were rejoiced with the sight of a river, into which they threw themselves, plunging in the water, and drinking copious draughts of it to allay their thirst. Afterwards frequent bathing proved one of the best restoratives of health, to which all resorted.

The chief man of the place next came, and con-

ducted Lieutenant de la Fond, and his companions, to his house, about half a league distant from the spot where they had landed. He charitably supplied them with linen shirts and trowsers, and boiled some fish, the water of which was relished as delicious broth. Though sleep was equally necessary as this frugal fare, the survivors having learned that there was a church within half a league, dedicated to St Michael, repaired thither to render thanks to heaven for their miraculous preservation. The badness of the road induced such fatigue as compelled them to rest in the village where it stood, and there the narrative of their misfortunes, added to the piety which they exhibited, attracted the notice of the inhabitants, all of whom hastened to minister something to their necessities. After remaining a short interval they returned to their host, who at night kindly contributed another repast of fish. Something more invigorating, however, being required by people who had endured so much, they purchased an ox for a quantity of the brandy that had been saved from the wreck.

Paraibo was distant fifteen leagues, and they had to set out barefoot, and with little chance of finding suitable provisions on the journey. Thus they smoke-dried their present store, and added a little flour to it. In three days they began to march, and, under an escort of three soldiers, advanced seven leagues the first day, when they were hospitably received by a person, and passed the night in his house. On the following evening, a serjeant and twenty-nine men arrived to conduct them to the commandant of the fortress, who gave them a friendly reception, afforded them supplies, and provided a boat to carry them to Paraibo. About midnight they reached



the town, where a Portuguese captain attended to present them to the governor, from whom also they experienced the like attention. Being anxious to reach Fernambuc, to take advantage of a Portuguese fleet, daily expected to sail for Europe, the governor, in three days more, ordered a corporal to conduct the party thither. But at this time Lieutenant de la Fond's feet were so cruelly wounded, he was scarce able to stand, and on that account was supplied with a horse. In four days he arrived at Fernambuc, where, from different naval and military officers, he met with the utmost attention and consideration: he and all his companions got a passage to Europe in the fleet.

Lieutenant de la Fond sailed on the 5th of October, and reached Lisbon in safety on the 17th of December; thence he procured a passage to Morlaix, where having rested a few days to recruit his strength, he repaired to Port L'Orient, with his health greatly injured by the calamities he had suffered, and reduced to a state of poverty, having, after twenty-eight years service, lost all he had in the world.

By this deplorable catastrophe, nearly three hundred persons perished.

## BURNING OF AN EAST INDIA SHIP, 1754.

WRITTEN BY THE MATE.

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“OUR ship was of about 900 tons burthen, manned with an hundred Lascars, or black sailors, and navigated by a captain, four mates, and a gunner, who were Europeans. We took on board five hundred merchants, and other passengers, going to pay their yearly devotions at the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca, and sailed with a fair wind from Surat in India, on the 10th of April 1754. The cargo on board was valued at two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and we were bound for Mocha and Jidda, in the Red Sea.

On the 18th we found ourselves, at noon, in 10° north latitude, and 9° of longitude west of Surat. At one, afternoon, may God preserve me from the like sight for ever! we observed a smoke coming up through the deck in the gallery, or fore-castle, and immediately got off the fore-hatches to see where the fire was. But the flame having vent, burst out with such violence that it burnt my shirt and trowsers, and also the second mate's; and having caught the main-stay-sail, in five minutes communicated itself to the rigging, and the whole sails of the ship. The boats were all on board, except the long-boat, and the rigging being on fire, we could make no use of the tackles to hoist them out; the whole Lascars ran aft from

the flames, and assistance we had none. I went down with the gunner to the powder-room, which was in the after part of the ship, to heave the powder overboard. While engaged in this occupation, I observed the long boat, which was our only prospect of life, cut adrift by the sailors: on which account I went up to the deck and told the captain that we had but two alternatives, either to burn or drown. He, with his usual calmness, told me that he had seen me swim farther in Virginia, than to the long-boat, as it was death to stay on board, that I might yet reach her, and save him and the rest of the Europeans. I therefore took a cutlass in my mouth, and directly leapt overboard. At that time, the fire had got the length of the quarter-deck, and burnt with such violence that nobody durst go near it. But I had so far to swim that I was obliged to quit the cutlass, and struggle for my life.

At last I reached the long-boat, and was going to use my authority, though I was beloved by the sailors. However, they soon let me know it was at an end, and asked me, did I not see three or four hundred people swimming towards the long-boat? that she was already full; that they had left their own fathers and brothers to perish, and could I think they would return to take in five infidels, (the Europeans,) on whose account Mahomet had burnt the ship; and even if they did so, would not every one strive to get in his own relations, whereby all would perish.

I answered that we had neither water nor provisions, nor a compass on board; that we were two hundred leagues from the nearest land, which was the coast of Malabar. But my remonstrances were of no avail, they were resolved to pursue the voy-

age with oars. Ninety-six souls were on board; among whom were eight black Roman Catholics.

About eight at night, the ship blew up with a noise like thunder, and every person in her perished.

We rowed forty eight hours towards the coast of Malabar, and then desisted. I desired the people to take their turbans, as they were Moors, and stitch them together with some rope-yarn, made out of the long-boat's cable. This they did with all expedition, and having a side wind, with fair weather, we always went two or three knots an hour. But from the want of sleep, as I constantly had the conducting of the boat by the sun in the day and the stars at night, I envied the fate of my companions, who were burnt or drowned.

We were never hungry, though our thirst was extreme. On the seventh day, our throats and tongues swelled to such a degree, that we conveyed our meaning by signs. Sixteen died on that day, and almost the whole people became silly, and began to die laughing. I earnestly petitioned God that I might continue in my senses to my end, which he was pleased to grant, being the only person on the eighth day, that preserved them. Twenty more died that day. On the ninth, I observed land, which sight overcame my senses, and I fell into a swoon with thankfulness of joy."



## WRECK OF THE DODDINGTON

EAST INDIAMAN, ON A ROCK IN THE INDIAN OCEAN  
17TH JULY, 1755.

INDEPENDENT of the interest intrinsically excited by the following narrative, there is the greater inducement to present it here, because the calamity engrossed in it, has been the subject of frequent reference; and also because an account of the shipwreck, not altogether correct, is in common circulation.

The Doddington, Captain Samson, sailed from the Downs, 23d April 1755, in company with the Pelham, the Houghton, the Streatham, and the Edgecourt, all in the service of the East India Company. In about seven days they cleared the Channel, during which time Captain Samson perceived that his ship sailed faster than any of the others. Unwilling to lose the benefit of this superiority, by keeping company with the rest, he stood on alone, and soon lost sight of them. On the 20th of May, he made Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, in  $16^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and on the 21st got into Porto Pryor (Praya) Bay. It now appeared that he had either been mistaken in supposing his ship to outsail the rest of the fleet, or that he had lost time by the course he had steer-

ed, for the Pelham and the Streatham, he found, had reached the bay two days before him. The Houghton arrived soon afterwards, but the Edgcourt did not come in till the 26th.

On the 27th the Doddington, Pelham, Streatham, and Houghton, having taken in their water, proceeded on the voyage together, leaving the Edgcourt in the road. They continued in company until the 28th, when Captain Samson thinking the course too far easterly, ordered the Doddington to be kept south, which again separated her from the rest of the fleet; and after a fine voyage of seven weeks, she made the land of the Cape of Good Hope.

A new departure was taken from Cape Needles, on the 5th of July, just after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and the vessel having steered eastward about twenty-four hours, between latitude  $35^{\circ} 30'$  and  $36^{\circ}$ , the captain ordered her to be kept east-north-east. In this course she continued until about a quarter before one in the morning of Thursday, 17th July, when she struck.

The officer, whose journal afforded the materials for this narrative, was then asleep in his cabin, but being suddenly awakened by the shock, he started up in the utmost consternation, and hastened on deck. Here all the terrors of his situation at once rushed on him. He saw the men dashed to and fro by the violence of the sea rolling over them, and the ship breaking to pieces at every stroke of the surge. Crawling over to the larboard of the quarter-deck, which lay highest out of the water, he there found the captain, who said very little more than that all must perish. In a few minutes a sea parted them, and he saw him no more. He made a shift to get back to the

quarter-deck, though very much bruised, and with the small bone of his left arm broken. All the rest of the ship was then under water, and shattered to pieces.

In this dreadful situation, expecting every moment to be swallowed up, he heard somebody cry out *land!* He looked eagerly about him, but notwithstanding he saw something, which he supposed was taken for land, he believed it was only the surge of the sea on the other side of the breakers. At the same moment the sea broke over him with great violence, and not only forced him from his hold, but stunned him by a violent blow on the eye.

Though from this time he lay insensible till after day-light, he still continued on the wreck; and when he recovered, he found himself fixed to a plank, by a nail that had been forced into his shoulder. Besides the pain of his wounds and bruises, he now felt himself so benumbed with cold, that he could scarce move either hand or foot. He called out as loud as he could to the people on the rocks, but they were unable to give him any assistance, whence a considerable time elapsed before he was capable of disengaging himself and crawling ashore.

This shore was a barren uninhabited rock in 33° 44' south latitude, and distant about 250 leagues east of the Cape of Good Hope. Here were now met Mr Evan Jones, chief-mate; Mr John Cottes, Mr William Webb, and Mr S. Powell, second, third, and fifth mates; Richard Topping, carpenter; Neil Bothwell, and Nathaniel Chisholm, quartermasters, Daniel Ladova, captain's steward; Henry Sharp, the surgeon's servant; Thomas Arnold, a black, and John M'Dowal, servants to the cap-

tain; Robert Beaseley, John Ding, Gilbert Cain, Terence Mole, Jonas Rosenbury, John Glass, ———, Taylor, and Hendrick Scantz, seamen; John Yets, midshipman, John Lister, Ralph Smith, and Edward Dysoy, matrosses. These persons, being twenty-three in number, were the whole surviving of 270 souls that were on board when the ship struck.

Their first care was to search for some covering among the things thrown on the rocks from the ship, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. The next article of necessity which they felt the want of, was fire, which was not so easily supplied. Some of their number made an unsuccessful attempt to kindle two pieces of wood, by rubbing them together, others went prying about the rocks, to pick up something that might serve for a flint and steel. After long search, they found a box containing two gun flints and a broken file. This was a joyful acquisition, though they were still destitute of any thing that would kindle from a spark; and until a substitute for tinder could be procured, the flint and steel were useless. A farther search was therefore undertaken, with inexpressible solicitude and anxiety, and at last a cask of gunpowder was discovered, which, however, to their great disappointment, proved to be wet; but on a more narrow inspection, a small quantity that had suffered no damage, was found at the bottom of the cask. Some of this they bruised on a linen rag, and it served them very well for tinder.

A fire was soon made, around which the bruised and wounded collected, and the rest went in quest of other necessities, without which the rock could afford them but a very short respite from destruction. In the afternoon, a box of wax-



candles, and a case of brandy, were brought in. Both were extremely acceptable, particularly the latter, of which each individual deemed it advisable to take a dram. Some others of the party returned soon after, with an account of their having discovered a cask almost full of fresh water, which was of still greater consequence than the spirits. Mr Jones brought in several pieces of salt pork, and others arrived, driving seven hogs before them, which had come on shore alive. Casks of beer, water, and flour, were also seen at a distance, but it was not then possible to get them over the rocks.

Night approaching, rendered it necessary to provide some shelter; all hands were therefore employed in making a tent of some canvas cast ashore, but the quantity recovered was so small, that the tent could not hold them all. For fear of being overflowed, they were obliged to erect it on the highest part of the island, which was covered with the dung of a water-fowl, rather larger than a gannet, that much frequented it. Those unable to walk were placed under the tent, and a fire kindled near them. They had passed the day without food, and were now deprived of rest during the night, for, independent of being sunk a foot in the dung, the wind was so tempestuous, that it scattered about their fire, and, before it could be again collected, the rain put it out. In the morning, those who were able went again in search of what could be saved from the wreck; but, to their great mortification, they found all the casks which were seen the preceding night, except one of flour and another of beer, staved against the rocks. These, however, they secured, and soon after, the tide flowing up, interrupted their operations. The company were, therefore, called together to eat

their first meal, and some pork was broiled on the coals for dinner.

Sitting down, thus desolate and forlorn, to a repast which they were wont to share in the convivial cheerfulness which the consciousness of plenty inspired, struck them with such a sense of their present condition, that they burst into passionate exclamations, wringing their hands, and looking around with all the wildness of despair. Amidst such tumultuous emotions, our reflections hurry from one subject to another, in quest of something from which comfort may be derived: And here one of the survivors, recollecting that the carpenter was among them, and that he might build a strong sloop, providing he could obtain tools and materials, suggested it as a ground of hope to the rest. Every one's attention was immediately directed towards the carpenter, who declared his belief that, providing tools and materials could be found, he should be able to build a sloop that would carry them all to a port of safety. At that time, indeed, they entertained no prospect of procuring either, nor of being able to victual such a vessel, had they even had it ready built. Yet, no sooner had they rested their deliverance one remove beyond total impossibility, than they seemed to think it neither improbable nor difficult; they began to eat without repining: that moment the boat engrossed their whole conversation, and they not only debated on her size and rigging, but to what port they should steer, whether to the Cape or De Lagoa.

As soon as the repast was finished, some went to mend the tent, and others in search of tools, but none were found that day.

On Saturday the 19th, four butts of water were

secured, one cask of flour, one hogshead of brandy, and a small boat, which had been thrown up by the tide, in a shattered condition. Still no tools were found except a scraper. But next day they had the good fortune to discover a hamper containing files, sail-needles, gimblets, and an azimuth compass card. They also found two quadrants, a carpenter's adze, a chissel, three sword blades, and a chest of treasure. As a prodigious surf had been rolling in all the day before, which it was reasonably expected would throw something up, the search was made early in the morning. At ten o'clock all assembled to prayers; and, not going out again until after dinner, they then found most of the packets belonging to the king and the company, which they carefully dried and laid aside.

While searching about the beach, they found the body of a lady, which they recognized to be that of Mrs Collet, the wife of the second mate, who was himself then at a little distance. The mutual affection subsisting between this couple was of remarkable tenderness; and Mr Jones, the first mate, immediately stepped to Mr Collet, and contrived to take him to the other side of the rock, while the other two mates, the carpenter, and some others, dug a grave, where they deposited the body, reading the funeral service over it, from a French prayer-book, which had driven ashore from the wreck along with the deceased.

Having thus paid the last tribute to one of their unfortunate number, and concealed from Mr Collet a sight which would have most sensibly, if not fatally, affected him, some days afterwards they found means gradually to disclose what they had done, and to restore him the wedding-ring, which they had taken from her finger. He received it

with great emotion, and in future spent many days in raising a monument over the grave, by piling up the squarest stones he could find, and fixing an elm plank on the top, inscribed with her name, her age, and the time of her death, and also some account of the fatal accident by which it was occasioned.

On Monday the 21st of July, more water and pork, as likewise some timber, plank, cordage, and canvas, were recovered. These the survivors joyfully secured for the projected boat, though yet in want of many implements indispensable for the carpenter proceeding with his work. He had just finished a saw, though he had neither hammer nor nails. It happened, however, that one of the seamen, Hendrick Scantz, a Swede, having picked up an old pair of bellows, brought them to his companions, telling them that he had been a smith by profession, and that with these bellows and a forge, which he hoped by his direction they should be able to build, he could furnish the carpenter with all necessary tools, nails included, as plenty of iron might be obtained by burning it out of the timber of the wreck coming ashore. This account was received with a transport of joy; the smith immediately set himself to mend the bellows; and the three following days were occupied in building a tent and forge, and in collecting the timber and plank for the carpenter's use, who also was employed in preparing the few tools already in his possession, that the boat might be begun as soon as possible.

On Thursday the 24th of July, the carpenter, assisted by Chisholm the quarter-master, began to work on the keel of the vessel, which it was determined should be a sloop thirty feet long, and



twelve feet wide. This day also the smith finished his forge, and laid in a quantity of fir for fuel. He and the carpenter thenceforward continued to work with indefatigable diligence, except when prevented by the weather. The smith having fortunately found the ring and nut of a bower anchor, which served him for an anvil, supplied chissels, axes, hammers, and nails, as they were required; and the carpenter used them with great dexterity and dispatch, until the 31st of the month, when he fell sick.

As the lives of the whole company were dependent on the carpenter's safety, they watched his recovery with the utmost impatience and anxiety; and to their unspeakable joy, his convalescence was such on the 2d of August, as to enable him to return to work.

Meantime the stores which had been saved from the wreck were so nearly exhausted, that it was necessary to restrict each man to an allowance of two ounces of bread a-day, while water also fell short. It was resolved to keep the salt pork to victual the new vessel.

In this distressing state they had recourse to several expedients. In digging a well they were disappointed in their hopes of finding a spring; but they succeeded in knocking down some of the gannets that settled on the top of the rock. The flesh, however, was very rank, of a fishy taste, and as black as a sloe. They also made a catamaran or float, on which they proposed to go out fishing with such hooks and lines as had come ashore. Likewise they killed some seals, but all who ate of them were sick.

When driven to great necessity, they killed a hog; they generally had success in fishing, and

sometimes sent out two rafts at a time. On one occasion, Mr Collet, and Mr Yets, the midshipman, were nearly driven out to sea, while engaged in this manner, where they would have infallibly perished. They had been out fishing on the 20th of August until about four in the afternoon, when they weighed and endeavoured to come in again; but the wind suddenly freshening from the westward, they found that instead of gaining ahead they drove off very fast. Though the people on shore saw their distress, they knew not how to assist them; however, they sent out another float with kellicks and ropes, which they hoped would enable them to ride till the wind moderated. The surf, however, was so great, that the raft overset three times, and the men were obliged to swim back. In the interval they saw their friends driving out to sea at a great rate, and were just giving them up to inevitable destruction, when the carpenter sent them word that he could make the little boat so tight that she should not take in water faster than one man could bale out. This inspired them with new hopes, and every one was ready to venture to the assistance of their comrades. In a quarter of an hour the carpenter dispatched the boat, and she soon overtook the float, when she received the two people. They now found that the water gained very fast on them, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, and when the boat came in, she was so full, that in a few minutes more she must have sunk.

As they were afraid to venture any longer on a raft, the carpenter again set to work on the boat, and put her into complete repair. Their success in fishing was very uncertain; sometimes they caught nothing; nor were their supplies on shore

less precarious ; the gannets would sometimes settle in amazing numbers like a cloud, and then totally disappear for several days together. This rendered them very desirous of finding some way to preserve the food they caught, from putrefaction, that they might store up the surplus of a successful day to serve when neither gannets nor fish were to be caught. They made several abortive attempts to cure both fish and fowl by smoking, and then tried to make salt, which had like to have been fatal to them all. The smith had made a copper vessel for the experiment, and they immediately set to work, not knowing that their process in making salt would produce verdigrise from the copper, and that it was poison. Salt nevertheless was procured, but the substance rendering it poisonous, happened to abound in such a degree as to render it intolerably offensive to the taste, and it was on that account thrown away. Those who ventured to swallow it, were seized with violent cholics, cold sweats, and retchings, which sufficiently convinced them of the danger they had escaped,

On Wednesday the 3d of September, these unfortunate people had been inhabitants of this desolate rock nearly seven weeks ; during which time they had frequently seen a great smoke on the main land, which made them extremely anxious to send the boat thither to see what assistance could be obtained. Therefore Bothwell, Rosenbury, and Taylor, this day set out on a voyage of discovery ; and at night the people ashore made a great fire on the highest part of the rock as a signal to them.

While waiting the return of the boat, they were all thrown into the utmost consternation by an ac-

cident which befel the carpenter. He unluckily cut his leg in such a manner with an adze, that he was in great danger of bleeding to death, as they had no surgeon among them, nor any thing fit for applying to the wound. At length the blood was staunched, though with much difficulty, and the wound healed, without the intervention of any bad symptom.

The weather having been fair for forty hours, the return of the boat was impatiently expected on Saturday the 6th of September. As nothing was seen of her against noon, the people became very uneasy; but just as they were sitting down to dinner, they were agreeably surprised by two of their number, who came running over the rocks to announce her approach. All starting up, overjoyed at the intelligence, ran to see her come in, entertaining great hopes that the excursion had succeeded. But they soon distinguished that she was rowed by only one man, who plied both oars, and thence concluded that the other two were either lost or detained. Presently another was seen rising from the bottom of the boat, where it was supposed he had lain down for a short interval of rest, and then the boat advanced somewhat quicker, though yet slowly.

Dinner was now entirely forgot, and after they had waited an hour on the beach with the utmost impatience, the boat came in. The two men were Rosenbury and Taylor, who, the moment of landing, threw themselves on their knees, uttering short but earnest ejaculations of thanks to God, for having once more brought them safe to this place, which, barren and desolate as it was, they considered an asylum from a more distressing situation. Having exerted their last effort to bring the boat



to the shore, their strength at once forsook them, and they were unable to rise from the ground without assistance.

As soon as they were conducted over to the tent, every one was busy to procure them refreshment, for they found the boat quite empty both of provisions and water. Some fish was hastily dressed, and their comrades observing them quite exhausted by labour and watching, left them without asking any questions, when they had ate their meal, and they immediately fell asleep. The behaviour of this unfortunate company to their poor messmates, was an uncommon instance of kindness and self-denial. The impatience of their curiosity must have increased in proportion as they were interested in the account by which it was to be gratified. Yet even this curiosity, where the very preservation of life was concerned, they had the consideration and fortitude to repress, rather than delay the refreshment of the others to satisfy it.

When the two adventurers awoke, their account was of the following purport :

About three o'clock on the day of their departure, they got round a point about six leagues east of the rock, which, as they approached, had the appearance of a double point. This encouraged them to hope, that between the two points they should find a harbour ; but here they were disappointed, as a high surf ran all along the coast. However, about five o'clock, having seen only one of the natives, they ventured to pull in for the shore ; but the moment they got into the surf, the boat upset, by which accident Bothwell was unhappily drowned. They themselves who reached the shore in a feeble and exhausted condition, were

left destitute of every supply except a small keg of brandy. As soon as their strength was a little renewed, they crawled along the shore in search of the boat, having no other chance of shelter from the wild beasts, which might be expected to come abroad in the night. After some search they found her, but were too weak to get her up ; and darkness coming on, they were obliged to lie down on the sand, without any other covering than the branches of a tree, in which condition they passed the night. As morning dawned they again went in quest of the boat, which the surf had driven from the place where they left her. Walking along the coast, they saw a man, who, on their advancing towards him, ran away into very thick woods near the beach. Proceeding onwards, they, in a short time, discovered the body of their comrade, Bothwell, which had been dragged up the sand a considerable distance from the water, and was torn to pieces by some wild beast. This terrified them exceedingly, and having found the boat, the dread of passing another night on shore was so great, that they resolved immediately to return.

The two adventurers were opposed in this attempt by a fresh gale at west, and before they could put back, the boat upset a second time, and drove with them along the shore. After much struggling and swimming, they once more got safe on the land, though fainting with hunger and fatigue, as they had been fasting ever since three o'clock of the preceding day. However, they happened to meet with a fruit resembling an apple, which they eagerly gathered and ate, without knowing either its name or its quality. Fortunately it did them no harm, and being somewhat refreshed by this repast, they made shift to

hawl the boat on shore. Turning it upside down, they crept under it to sleep, well sheltered from the sun, and secure against wild beasts.

Those who know the irresistible power of sleep, after long watching and excessive labour, will not conclude that their first slumber was short, because their situation was incommodious, or exposed to danger. They awakened, however, before the next morning, and peeping out from under the edge of the boat, could discern the feet of several creatures, which, by the claws, they supposed to be tigers, pass by them to and again. This was a sufficient inducement to remain in their resting place until morning, when once more looking out they saw the feet of a man. On this discovery, they crept from below the boat, to the great amazement of a poor savage, and two other men and a boy, who were at some distance. When they had all collected, and were a little recovered from their surprise, they made signs to the sailors to go away, which they endeavoured to do, though able to move but very slowly. Before having got far from the boat, a considerable number of the natives ran down upon them, with their lances. Rosenbury, as he went along, had picked up the mast of the boat, and a pistol, which had been washed ashore. Thus armed when the Indians came down upon him, and besides being unable to run, he imprudently turned about, and exerting all his strength, advanced towards them in a threatening manner, supposing they would have been panic struck, and retreated into the woods. It happened, however, that he was mistaken, for instead of running away, they surrounded him, and began to whet their lances. Taylor thought it was now time to try what could be



done by supplication, and, throwing himself on his knees, cried, in a piteous tone, for mercy, while Rosenbury took refuge in the water. The savages immediately came up to Taylor, and began to strip him. He suffered them quietly to take his shoes and his shirt, but when they attacked his trowsers, he made some resistance, and by his gestures entreated that they would not leave him quite naked, on which they thought fit to desist. They then made signs for Rosenbury to come to them, who was all this time swimming about in the sea; but he refused, signifying that they would kill him. They then pointed to Taylor, intimating that he had not been killed; on which Rosenbury advanced, and having first thrown them his pistol, and all his clothes but his shirt, ventured to put himself in their hands. When he came up they offered him no violence, only held the boat's mast and the pistols to him by way of deriding his attempt to frighten them. They seemed to be very much pleased with the clothes, which they divided among themselves as far as they would go. Then beginning to rife the boat, they took away all the rope they could find, and the hook by which the rudder hung to the stern post, and next began to knock the stern to pieces, for the iron which they saw about it. Except absolute destruction of the unfortunate mariners, this was the greatest mishap they could sustain; and rough as they were, they burst into tears, entreating the savages, with such agony of distress, to desist from injuring their boat, that they suffered it to remain as they found it. Encouraged by such an appearance of placability and kindness, and urged by hunger, they solicited by signs



something to eat. This request was also granted, and the natives having given them some roots, again made signs for their departure; on which they once more got into the boat, after launching it; but the wind blowing strong from the west, they could not put off. The natives perceiving their willingness, and also their inability to comply with their desire, covered them with the boat to sleep under, and left them. The following morning the weather proving fine, and the wind easterly, they launched the boat a third time, and returned back to the rock.

The carpenter and smith now continued working on the vessel, till the fourth Sunday, the 29th of September, and the people were busy in securing what was from time to time thrown up by the wreck, particularly cordage and canvas for rigging. They likewise recovered some casks of fresh water, which they were solicitous to keep for sea store, as their escape depended no less on fresh water than on the vessel itself, which was to carry them.

This day, the officers, after prayers, a duty regularly and publicly performed every Sunday, discovered that the chest of treasure had been broke open, and the greater part of it taken away and concealed. It may probably appear strange, that those whom danger had made religious should at the same time be guilty of theft; but it should here be remembered, that as soon as a ship is lost, the sailors lose their pay, and the captain his command; and whatever is cast ashore from the wreck, is considered by the sailors in the light of common property. The men, therefore, who ventured secretly to take what they deemed their

share of this treasure, were not conscious of acting dishonestly, but only designed to secure what they dreaded the officers would monopolize, and thus prevent disputes, which, in their circumstances, might produce fatal effects. The officers, however, on discovering what had been done, and finding that none would own knowing any thing about it, proposed to write the form of an oath, and administer it separately to every individual, themselves taking it first. But to this the majority immediately objected, for though they might not suppose themselves guilty of a crime by taking the treasure, they were aware that it would not only be immoral but impious, to swear they had not taken it. As the minority were not in a condition to enforce their proposal, the matter was suffered to rest without further inquiry or remonstrance.

A fowling-piece was found on the 6th of October, which was a joyful acquisition, and although the barrel was much beat, it was soon made serviceable by the carpenter, and used with great success in shooting the birds. There was no other method before of taking them, but by knocking them down with a stick.

On Friday, the 11th of October, the gannets which had of late forsaken the rock, were observed again hovering about it in great numbers. The shipwrecked people were therefore in hopes that they would settle to lay their eggs, and in this they were not disappointed. They were constantly supplied with great plenty of eggs, until the beginning of January, when the laying season terminated.

Mr Cottes, Mr Webb, the third mate, and two

others, once more ventured out on a raft on the 20th of October, but the wind springing up very fresh, the raft broke loose, and drove them to the other side of the rocks. The sea running high, and the wind still increasing, it was impossible for the boat to put out; therefore they were obliged to remain all night among the seals on the rocks, without any shelter or refreshment. But in this situation, however dreadful, they received great comfort, from reflecting how much more dangerous it would have been, had they, instead of being carried to the rocks, been driven out to sea. The wind did not abate before next day at noon, when the boat ventured off: but as the waves still ran high, it could bring in no more than two at a time, and the float was left behind them.

Some rainy weather now prevailed, which was very acceptable, as they contrived to save some of the water for sea store; but they were still in want of bread, and had lived many days on short allowance. As a last resource, they thought of building an oven, for though they had no bread they had some barrels of flour. In this attempt they succeeded beyond expectation, and were enabled to convert their flour into tolerable biscuit.

At length the biscuit also was near exhausted, and their allowance of it restricted to a few ounces per day, without brandy, of which only a small quantity remained, and this was preserved inviolable for the use of the carpenter. Water likewise ran short, and a pint a day was all their allowance. However, their health still remained in a great measure entire; and on the 16th of February 1756, they launched their vessel, which they called the *Happy Deliverance*. Next day, their little pitance of stores was got on board, and on the 18th

they set sail from the rock, which, at parting, they named *Bird Island*, and where they had lived just seven months.

All their provisions consisted of six casks of water, two live hogs, a firkin of butter, about four pounds of biscuit for each man, and ten days subsistence of salt provisions, in bad condition, at the rate of two ounces a day per man.

At one in the afternoon of the eighteenth, the adventurers weighed anchor, and with a light breeze from the west, set sail for the river St Lucia, on the coast of Natal. Fortune, however, did not cease to persecute them: for five days they met nothing but adversity; and during twenty-five in succession, their provisions were almost exhausted, and currents running at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, carried them so far out of their course, that a favourable wind was of little avail. Their state became more and more deplorable, and they at length despaired of reaching the river St Lucia; as the currents ran strong to the west, and easterly winds almost always prevailed, they resolved to change their course, and attempt to make the Cape of Good Hope. Thus on the 2d of March they bore away to the west.

Next day the weather proved hazy, and they apprehended that heavy westerly gales would ensue. Their conjectures were verified, for the wind increased to prodigious violence, until the fourth of the month, when they endeavoured to lie to, but shipped such heavy seas that they dreaded lest every surge would dash their slight vessel to pieces; thus they were still obliged to be cautious, and bear away under a topsail. The squalls were at times so violent that the sea appeared like cliffs



above the stern; and in this alarming manner were they hurried along by furious storms until the morning of the fifth, when fine weather ensued.

A calm prevailed on the seventh, and they cast anchor about three quarters of a mile from a shore, where they soon observed several of the natives, who came down from the mountains. Encouraged by this sight, they attempted to land; and Thomas Arnold, the black servant, accompanied by two seamen, embarked in the boat, carrying a string of amber beads as a present to the Indians. Arnold leapt out of the boat when near the beach, and swam ashore, while the boat returned to the vessel, which was standing on at some distance in search of a place where the people might safely debark. Attended by about forty of the natives, Arnold followed the vessel to a suitable place, and the boat was sent to take him off. He reported that on his arrival, the savages at first appeared very reserved, but, at length, having all sat down, they made him sit down among them. He then presented the string of beads to the oldest, who received it with marks of consideration. On making signs that he wanted food, they supplied him with Indian corn, fruit, and water, in a calabash. He added that they had sent into the country for sheep, oxen, and other necessaries, whence he was desirous of returning to them; but the wind continuing westerly, the boat only was sent ashore, which soon returned with food sufficient to serve during four days.

The vessel coasted along until the 10th of March, when the wind changed to the east, and the people then cast anchor in twelve fathoms, half a mile from the shore. Several Indians came down to the beach in the evening, and by signs invited them to land,

which they considered impracticable. Next morning the natives renewed their invitation, by driving before them a great many goats and bullocks. This was a pleasing spectacle to men almost famished with hunger; however, they still judged it impossible to land. In a condition so tantalising they continued until the 14th, when two men requested to be sent ashore at all risks, saying it was better to go and live among the savages than to perish of hunger on board, where for two days they had not ate a morsel. They were therefore sent off in the boat, and with great difficulty reached the shore. The wind fell the same evening, and seemed tending to the west, which occasioned much uneasiness to those on board, on account of their two comrades ashore, for they dreaded that it might blow too hard for them to remain at anchor until morning. Thus frequent signals were made through the night by shewing lights, in hopes of bringing them down to the beach, that they might get off before the surf rose too high. No intelligence was obtained of them until six in the morning, but it was then too late to get them on board from the violence of the wind and height of the surf. Trusting to find some more favourable place whence to take them in, signals were made that they should proceed along the shore, while the bark followed the same direction. They had not advanced two leagues, when a very convenient spot was found, opposite to which the vessel, working close to the shore, anchored in five fathoms water. The boat was then sent out, with four men, two of whom were employed in recovering those ashore, and the other two in sounding the mouth of a river, where they were in great hopes of finding water enough for the vessel to pass over the bar. About

three hours afterwards, the two men were seen with the four belonging to the boat, but on account of the height of the surf they durst not embark.

All those on board spent the night in the greatest uneasiness; at break of day, they weighed anchor, and stood still nearer the shore; but observing that their companions were still afraid to venture, they made them understand that if they did not immediately return, or shew that it was possible to enter the river, they should be obliged to abandon them, as provisions began to fail, and there was no appearance of any here. These menaces had the desired effect, and two of the men braved the extreme violence of the surf in the boat. Having gained the bark, they said that they had been well received by the natives, who gave them beef and fish to eat, and supplied them with milk; and then conducted them over the mountains, from the place where they landed, to that where they found their companions.

An easterly wind rendered it dangerous to remain in this spot, but was favourable for their entering the river, where sufficient water was said to be above the bar; accordingly, they weighed anchor at eleven in the forenoon, and advanced, the boat always being before, sounding. But when close to the bar, those ashore made signals to desist; which they did, and anchored. The boat returning, informed them that there were only eight feet of water on the bar, and that it was necessary to wait the flowing of the tide in order to pass it. At two in the afternoon, they once more hoisted sail, easily entered the river, and cast anchor in two fathoms and a half.

Their first consideration was how to traffic with the natives for provisions and other necessaries,

having never heard of any commerce on this coast. The consultation did not continue long, for they had but little to exchange; their whole stock, consisting of brass buttons, nails, and iron bolts, copper hoops, of which they made rings, such as are called bangles by the Indians, and wore as bracelets on the legs and arms. These they carried on shore, and shewing them to the natives, made signs by imitating the lowing of cattle, and bleating of sheep, that they wished these animals in exchange for them. The Indians quickly comprehended their meaning, and speedily brought two small oxen, which were purchased for a pound of copper and three or four brass buttons. Each of the oxen weighed about five or six hundred pounds, and the flesh proved excellent. The Indians seemed well content with their bargain, and promised to bring more cattle; they likewise sold a great quantity of milk at a very low rate, demanding but a single button for two or three gallons. They also sold, at the same rate, a quantity of small grain resembling Guinea corn, which the strangers bruising between two stones, made into a kind of bread, which they baked on hot cinders. This they were in hopes to preserve, until they could procure what was of better quality, but here they were disappointed, for in three days it became mouldy. Nevertheless, the grain was found salutary food when boiled along with meat.

In this place they remained about fifteen days, and frequently penetrated the country, ten or twelve miles, to the dwellings of the natives, who lived in huts covered with rushes, which formed a kind of thatch. They were extremely clean within, and the natives frequently invited their visitors to spend the night there, during their residence



on the coast. They always testified great friendship towards the English, often ate along with them, and seemed to enjoy the European method of preparing food. But they particularly prized the entrails of animals, which they commonly ate raw, after giving them a shake. They also took much pleasure in going on board the vessel, and repeatedly came up the river in the boat along with the English, uniformly displaying a very sociable disposition. They shewed no jealousy, and left their sisters and daughters whole days with the strangers, while rambling about the woods.

Hunting is the principal occupation of these savages; their only weapons are lances, and two short clubs, with a large knob at the end, which are used to kill an animal when it is wounded by the lance. The river is full of manaties, or sea-cows, which commonly come to the banks and pasture in the night; they are quite harmless, and the natives frequently kill them for food while asleep.

They also had a few elephants tusks, which they would have given for a mere trifle, but the English had no room for them in the vessel. These savages wore few clothes in the day-time, but at night covered themselves with a bullock's hide, which was well dried, and which they had the art of rendering very pliant. Their chief ornaments were a piece of the tail of an ox, which hung from the rump, down to their heels, and was adorned with small sea-shells. They also wore pieces of skin round the knees, ankles, and arms. Their hair was anointed with abundance of fat or grease, mixed with a kind of red earth, and the whole body was likewise anointed. Their activity and address were so great in throwing their

lances, that at the distance of thirty or forty yards, they could strike an ear of corn set up as a mark. They practised another exercise, particularly at meeting each other, or on separation, which consisted in dancing or leaping in a circle, and uttering the most hideous cries, sometimes like hounding of dogs, and sometimes like the grunting of hogs, all the while actively wielding their lances.

The English were extremely surprised to find among these savages, who were quite black with woolly hair, a youth, apparently twelve or fourteen years of age, perfectly white, with European features, fine light hair, and altogether different from the natives of this country. They remarked that he was treated as a servant, that the savages sent him their errands, and sometimes did not allow him to eat with them; but that he waited until the end of their repast, before making his own. They seemed, at the same time, to live in great friendship with each other, and when they had any thing to eat, though in ever so small a quantity, the owner shared it equally with all present, and appeared to enjoy much satisfaction in doing so.

After the English had thus, by the intervention of Providence, collected a very considerable quantity of provisions, they weighed anchor at five in the morning of the 29th, and stood over the bar. But there a dangerous surf was running, which almost broke into the vessel, and becalming their sail, put them in great hazard of being shipwrecked on the rocks. At length they had the good fortune to get over the bar, and sailed for the River St Lucia, where they arrived on the 6th of April, without any remarkable occurrence.

Having landed, they were soon convinced that

those with whom they were to traffic, were very different from the savages they had left. On signifying that they wished to trade with them, the Indians intimated that they wanted no commodity but a kind of small beads; nevertheless, when shown copper buttons, they speedily brought several bullocks, fowls, potatoes, gourds, and some other provisions. No bullocks could be purchased, because the natives demanded copper rings large enough for collars, in exchange; but they sold fowls and gourds at a low price, giving five or six of the former, of a large size, for a bit of linen, not worth above fourpence in England.

Here the English remained three weeks, occupying themselves in traversing the country, and in seeing the savages' mode of life, as also in endeavouring to obtain the articles they required. These Indians put the highest value on copper; and, on being shewn the handle of an old box, offered two bullocks for it; the bargain was speedily concluded, and they drove them to the bark. The natives appeared very proud and haughty, and quite different in the recommendatory manners that characterized those whom the English had lately left. The latter discovered that the principal chief, whom they paid for being accommodated all night in one of his huts, had stolen some pieces of iron, which they had brought in a basket, to discharge their expences while ashore. Though remaining two or three days in the interior, the natives could never be prevailed on to eat along with their visitors. They differed also from the former Indians in the method of preparing their food, which was here done with greater neatness; they were likewise more cleanly in their persons, and bathed every

morning, apparently as an act of devotion, nothing of which was observed among the others. They wore no kind of ornament similar to them; their chief pride seemed to be to keep their hair in great order. They watched strictly over their women. Their arms, however, resembled those of the others, as did their diversions. Men were seen among them, who came from Delagoa, trading in ambergrease and elephant's tusks.

A favourable breeze springing up from the west, attended with good weather, the English weighed anchor, at seven in the morning of the 18th of May, and set sail. About a quarter of an hour before high water, when almost on a bar crossing the river, some of them were so imprudent as to lower the sail, and cast anchor on a sand bank. Nine men then got into the boat and rowed towards the shore, declaring they would rather run all risks among the savages, than be drowned to a certainty in passing the bar. Those on board hesitated whether to attempt the passage, or return; but the wind and tide driving the vessel out of the river, gave every reason to believe, that if the tide fell, she would strike the bar and be dashed to pieces. At length they weighed anchor, trusting to save the vessel and preserve their lives, and were soon carried among the breakers. Here they were in the most alarming situation, there were only eight feet of water, while the vessel drew five. After remaining half an hour in the jaws of death, the surface of the sea suddenly became smooth as glass, and they left the River St Lucia in safety. Those ashore, most of whom had nothing but a shirt and a pair of trousers, followed along the coast on foot.

On the 20th of the month the English made



Delagoa River, where they cast anchor in nine fathoms. There they found the *Rose*, a snow, commanded by Captain Chandler, in which some of them requested a passage to Bombay. Having remained three weeks in this place, three of their comrades, who had gone ashore at St Lucia, rejoined them in a small canoe, and said that their six companions were on the other side of Delagoa Bay, from whence they waited an opportunity of coming over.

The officers, judging themselves now in the most convenient situation for securing the treasure, packets, and other effects of the *Doddington*, sent four or five men ashore, and two on board the snow. Mr Jones then came in Captain Chandler's pinnace, well manned and armed, to the vessel, and carried all the money, plate, and letters, he could find in her, to the snow, that they might be given up on her arrival at Madras. The people remaining in the vessel, apprehending a second visit, which might have been extremely disagreeable, took an opportunity of escaping during the night.

The *Rose* sailed for Madagascar on the 25th of May, for the purpose of completing her cargo, as, in consequence of a misunderstanding between Captain Chandler and the natives, they had drove away above an hundred head of cattle after having sold them to him. On the same day, a vessel came in sight, which, on approaching, proved to be the bark. Two of the people, one of whom was the carpenter, coming on board the snow, persuaded Captain Chandler to purchase their little vessel for five hundred rupees, and he gave his note for that sum. They told him that they had recovered the other six men who had gone a-

shore at St Lucia, but three of that party were already dead, and two extremely ill, from the fatigues they had suffered in travelling by land. These also died a few days afterwards. Captain Chandler then continued his course to Madagascar, in company with the bark, and, after a voyage of twenty-two days, discovered the island, where he anchored, off Morondova, on the 14th of June. The Caernarvon, commanded by Norton Hutchinson, bound from Europe for China, likewise arrived there on the 16th.

The packets and treasure being destined for Madras, they were put on board this vessel, which quitted Morondova on the 1st of July, and, having arrived a month afterwards at that government, the whole were delivered according to their original destination.

## SHIPWRECK OF PHILIP AUBIN,

ON THE COAST OF GUIANA, 1756.

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**CAPTAIN AUBIN** was the son of a captain in the British navy; he himself prosecuted a sea-faring life from the age of seventeen, and was commodore of the trading vessels on the coast of America, and in the West India islands.

On the 1st of August 1756, he sailed from Carlisle Bay in Barbadoes, for the Dutch settlement of Surinam, in a bark of eighty tons, the cargo of which consisted of all kinds of provisions, and also horses. The latter were so essential at that time to the Dutch, that they made a regulation prohibiting English vessels to trade thither, unless these animals constituted part of their cargo; and so rigidly was it enforced, that the master was obliged to preserve the ears and hoofs of horses dying in the passage, and swear that he embarked them alive for the colony.

The coast of Surinam and the adjacent countries is low, and overflowed by large rivers disemboguing themselves into the sea, and the bottom consists of deep soft mud, on which a vessel may strike without her course being interrupted.

A current occasioned by the trade winds, and also by the numerous rivers discharged into the

sea, carried the bark west and north-west at the rate of four miles an hour, and, in the evening of the 4th of August, a fresh breeze rendered it necessary to reef the sails, while beating about between  $10^{\circ}$  and  $12^{\circ}$  north latitude. At midnight the wind increased in proportion as the moon rose above the horizon, and Captain Aubin, finding his bark, which was heavily laden, begin to labour excessively, thought it expedient to keep the watch until the weather should become more moderate. He desired William, his mate, to bring him a bottle of beer, and both sitting down, he on a hen-coop, and William on the deck, they began to tell stories in order to pass the time, according to the custom of mariners in all countries. But the broadside of the bark suddenly turning to windward, Captain Aubin ordered the helm a-weather, when the steersman replied it was already so. Suspecting the rope of the tiller was foul of something, he directed William to examine, who assured him that it was not.

At this moment the vessel went round with her head to the sea, and, pitching down, she filled in such a manner before, that she could not rise above the breakers, which broke over her as high as the anchor-stocks. The captain and mate were immediately up to the neck in water, and every thing in the cabin was washed away. Some of the crew, who consisted of nine in number, were at this time drowned in their hammocks, without uttering a groan.

To prevent the bark from oversetting, Captain Aubin took a hatchet, hanging near the fire-place, whenever the wave had passed, to cut away the shrouds. But his endeavours proved abortive; she upset, and went completely over, with her masts



and sails in the water : the horses rolling out above each other, were drowned ; the whole together exhibiting a distressing sight.

There was only one small boat, twelve or thirteen feet long, fixed between the pump and the side of the bark. Happily there had been no necessity for securing it with lashings, though, when the vessel overset, there was no hope that it could be seen or recovered, both because there was a heavy cable lying within, and because the weight of the horses and their stalls kept it sunk below the surface of the sea.

Captain Aubin was now reduced to a deplorable extremity ; he held fast by the shrouds, looking around him for some empty box, or a plank, whereon he might hope to preserve his life so long as it should please the Almighty, and, at that time, he observed the mate and two seamen hanging by a rope, imploring Heaven to have mercy on their souls. He reminded them, that a man who was not resigned to death when it was the will of his Creator to summon him from this earthly sphere, was not fit to live ; nevertheless, he counselled them to free themselves of their clothes, as he had done, and lay hold of the first object that could aid their preservation. William, the mate, quickly complied ; he stripped himself naked, and swam about in quest of whatever he might find. Scarce a moment had elapsed, when he exclaimed that he had got the boat, on which Captain Aubin immediately swam off to him, and found him holding by the keel, which was uppermost.

Both now made repeated, but unsuccessful attempts, to turn the boat up. William, who was the heavier, as also the stronger man of the two, at length contrived to put his feet against

the gunwale, and seizing the keel with both hands, nearly accomplished it by a violent effort, while Captain Aubin lifted her up from the opposite side on his shoulders. At last the boat was righted by this method, and assistance from the surf, though she remained full of water. However, Captain Aubin got in, and endeavored by means of a rope about the rigging of the bark to draw her towards it.

During the interval between the roll of successive billows, the mast rose fifteen or twenty feet above the water: having gained it, Captain Aubin passed the end of the rope fastened to the boat once round the top of the mast, while he held by the end. Whenever the mast rose out of the water, it lifted up him and the boat: he then let go the rope, by which three-fourths of the water were emptied out of the boat. But having no way of disengaging her from the mast and shrouds, they fell down, driving him and the boat under the surface.

Captain Aubin continued his exertions to empty the boat of water, during which he received many severe wounds and bruises, and he began to haul her, though full, towards the shrouds of the bark; but only a small portion of the stern was now visible, the hull had sunk deep in the sea, and there the mate, with other two men, were securing themselves by a rope. He threw himself into the water, and swam towards these people with a rope in his mouth, trusting that by their united strength the boat might be hauled over the stern of the vessel, and emptied. Their utmost efforts were now exerted; but Captain Aubin's thigh was nearly broke, by being crushed between the boat and the ship; however, they accomplished their object

in getting up the boat. Whenever the acuteness of the pain was a little abated, Captain Aubin, along with one of the men who could not swim, leapt into her, and stopped a hole which was made in dragging her over the stern, with part of the man's shirt. The good fortune of his inability to swim was here eminently displayed, for he had not been induced to strip off his shirt, which was thus employed as a means of preservation. He had besides a knife in his pocket, and wore an enormous Dutch hat, according to the fashion of the West India settlements.

The boat being made fast to the rigging of the bark, a dog belonging to the captain came running along the gunwale, and was gladly taken in as a resource in case of necessity for provision: a moment after, the rope parted, with a jerk of the vessel, and Captain Aubin found the boat drifting away. Therefore he called on his mate, and the other man, to swim off, and assisting them to get on board, soon lost sight of his unfortunate vessel.

At this time it was about four in the morning, as was judged by the dawn, which now began to break, and about two hours had elapsed since the bark had been abandoned. She remained longer buoyant than might otherwise have happened, from a number of casks of biscuit, flour, and butter being on board, for the former slowly imbibe water, and the latter always swims.

Keeping the boat before the wind, as soon as she was clear of the wreck, several articles which had floated from the vessel were seen as it grew light; and Captain Aubin rejoiced to observe his chest of clothes and linen, which had been washed out of the cabin among them. It also contained some bottles of orange and lime water, a few

pounds of chocolate, sugar, and other articles, which induced him to attempt getting at them. But the box was so large that it would have sunk the boat if it had been possible to take it in; therefore it was held alongside, and every device used to open it as it floated. Yet to accomplish this proved impracticable; he and his companions could by no means force open the lid, and after having half filled the boat with water, to their own imminent hazard, they were reduced to the tantalizing necessity of leaving it behind.

However, they luckily picked up thirteen onions; though of a number more none could be obtained, and these, together with the dog, were all that might serve for subsistence, while they had not a single drop of fresh water.

The mariners now computed that they were above fifty leagues from land; they were destitute of masts, sails, and oars, nor had they an article of any description except the knife belonging to the seaman who could not swim, his wide trowsers and the shirt, of which part had already been employed in stopping the leak broke in the bottom of the boat, when dragging her over the bark's stern.

This day the remainder of the shirt was cut into strips, which were twisted, to serve the purpose of rigging, and each of the mariners alternately took his turn in endeavouring to loosen the planks, with which the boat was lined. By patiently persevering in the work a considerable time, their object was gained by cutting all round the heads of the nails fastening down the planks, and then these were formed into a kind of mast, which they tied to the foremost thwart. A piece of plank was used as a substitute for a yard, and to this was fixed the



trowsers, which served as a sail, while it and a topmast, originally brought by the mate for steering, assisted in keeping the boat before the wind.

The pieces of plank detached from within the boat being short and insufficient to go quite round the edge, the mariners, when the sea ran very high, were obliged to lie along the gunwale, with their backs to the water, as a barrier against the breakers. Had they not repeatedly done so, the waves would have washed in, and even with all their precautions, one of their number was incessantly occupied in baling out the water by means of the Dutch hat; and the boat continued to take in more by the leak, which they were not capable of securing completely.

Such was their melancholy situation, stark naked, and amidst a tempestuous sea, when they kept the boat so far as possible before the wind. Before the sail was perfectly finished night fell, and the boat continued running at the rate of about a league an hour, while it grew quite dark. The weather was more moderate the second day; Captain Aubin and his companions each ate an onion at different times, and now began to feel the effects of thirst. But the wind rose in the night, and its shifting occasioned great uneasiness to Captain Aubin, for it sometimes blew from the north, which obliged him to keep before it for safety, and his only prospect of relief was by sailing from east to west.

The keen sensation of hunger began to be felt on the third day, as also thirst; and the mariners besides suffered severely from the heat of the sun, by which their bodies were scorched, so that from the neck to their feet they were red and blistered, as if by the operation of fire. Captain Aubin now

yielding to the necessity, thrust the knife into the throat of his dog; though he afterwards reflected on it with much regret, no sentiment of that kind at the time affected him. The animal's blood was caught in the hat, and what run over was received by the mariners in their hands; and eagerly drank. They also drank the blood by turns out of the hat, and felt themselves very much refreshed by it.

A heavy gale, accompanied by a high sea, prevailed on the fourth day after the shipwreck, so that the boat was in imminent danger of sinking, and the people were obliged to make a barrier of their bodies against the waves.

But towards noon they perceived a sloop, which like the bark, belonged to Barbadoes, and was now bound to Demarara; they could see the crew walking on the deck; and in hopes of attracting their notice, shouted as loud as they were able. Unhappily they were neither seen nor heard; and as the sloop, which was commanded by Captain Southey, a particular friend of Captain Aubin, steered direct south, while it was indispensable to keep the boat before the wind, from the danger of foundering by bearing west, they crossed each others course at a great distance.

Thus the ray of hope which dawned on the mariners died away, and two of them sunk so much under the disappointment, that they refused to make any further exertions to save themselves. In spite of every thing Captain Aubin could urge, one persisted in his determination: he would not even bale out the water from the boat, which was gaining on them; entreaties were vain; and though Captain Aubin fell at his knees, he continued inflexible. At length, he and the mate having threatened to kill them instantly with the top-mast, and

then to put a period to their own existence, that all might perish together, the men resumed their occupation of baling.

In the course of the day Captain Aubin ate a piece of the dog with some onions : he could with difficulty swallow only a few mouthfuls, yet in an hour this small portion revived him. William, the mate, who was of a stronger constitution, ate a greater quantity, which the captain was pleased to see, and one of the men tasted it ; but the other, called Cuming, either would not, or was unable to swallow a morsel.

The weather was calmer on the fifth day, and the sea did not run so high. An enormous shark, as large as the whole boat, was seen at day-break, and accompanied the mariners several hours, as if expecting to receive them as its prey.

A flying-fish, which had fallen into the boat during the night, was divided into four parts, and chewed to moisten their mouths. William, the mate, under the united influence of hunger and despair, exhorted his comrades to cut a piece out of his thigh, that his blood might quench their thirst, and be instrumental in preserving their lives.

Several heavy showers, attended by wind, fell during the night, and the mariners tried to procure some rain water by wringing the trowsers which served for their sail ; but the seamen's clothes had been so often drenched in water, that they, as well as the hat, were quite impregnated with salt, and now what was caught in their mouths from the trowsers was as salt as that of the sea. Thus their only resource was endeavouring to catch a few drops as they fell into their open mouths, to cool the heat of their tongues. When the showers

ceased, the trowsers were again replaccd on the mast for a sail.

On the sixth day, the two seamen, notwithstanding Captain Aubin's remonstrances, drank sea water, which occasioned so violent a diarrhoea that they fell into a kind of delirium, and were of no further assistance to him and the mate. Both of these, however, kept a nail in their mouths, and sprinkled their heads from time to time with water, to cool them. Captain Aubin was relieved by these ablutions, and the suffering in his head was less severe. They several times tried to eat part of the dog's flesh with a morsel of onion; and the captain thought himself fortunate if he could swallow three or four mouthfuls. The mate was always able to eat rather more.

About noon of the seventh day, which was fine, the breeze moderate, and the sea smooth, the two seamen who had drank the sea-water became so weak that they began to talk incoherently, and seemed insensible of whether they were at sea or on shore. The captain and mate were likewise so weak as to be scarce able to stand upright or steer the boat; nor were they quite capable of baling out the water, which entered abundantly by the leak.

John Cuming, one of the men, died on the morning of the eighth day; and three hours afterwards, George Simpson, the other, also breathed his last.

To the inexpressible joy of the survivors, the high land at the western extremity of the Island of Tobago was discovered in the evening. Encouraged by hope, they kept the boat towards the land all night, while a light breeze and a strong current favoured their approach. In the morning they



were not above five or six leagues distant, and though no longer able to stand, they continued steering the boat the whole day towards the shore. In the evening it fell quite calm; but about two in the morning, the current cast them on the beach, at the easternmost part of the island. The boat was soon bilged, and the two unfortunate mariners, forsaking the bodies of their companions, and the remainder of the dog, now become perfectly putrid, crawled to the shore.

Here the coast rose almost perpendicularly to the height of three or four hundred feet, along the bottom of which Captain Aubin and his mate crawled on all fours, as well as they were able. They collected some leaves from a great quantity which had fallen from numerous trees above their heads, and lay upon them until dawn. As light appeared they began to search for water, and got some in the holes of the rocks, though so brackish as to be unfit for drinking. They also procured some shellfish from the surrounding rocks, which they broke open with a stone, and chewed, to suck out the moisture.

Between eight and nine in the morning, they were discovered by a young native Carai<sup>b</sup>, whom they saw sometimes walking, and sometimes running towards the boat. Whenever he reached it, he showed signs of the greatest commiseration, and loudly shouted for his companions, who followed him immediately, and swam towards the mariners, from perceiving the men almost at the same time. The oldest of the party, who seemed about sixty years of age, approached along with the two youngest, who afterwards proved to be his son and son-in-law.

At the sight of Captain Aubin and his mate, tears filled the eyes of the strangers, while the former endeavoured by signs, to make him comprehend that he had been nine days at sea, and was completely destitute of every thing. Understanding a few French words, they signified that they would go for a boat to carry the two to their hut; and the old man taking a handkerchief from his head, tied it round Captain Aubin's, while one of the youngones gave the mate his straw hat. The other swam round a projecting rock, and brought a calabash of fresh water, some cakes of cassava, and a piece of broiled fish; but the objects of this humane consideration were unable to eat.

The Caraihs next removed the two corpses out of the boat, and laid them on the rock, after which all three hauled it up out of the water. They then went away, testifying signs of the utmost compassion, to bring their canoe.

About mid-day the natives returned in it with three of addition to their number, and brought along with them some soup in an earthen vessel, which Captain Aubin and his companion thought delicious; but the former vomited all he had been able to take, his stomach was in such a state of weakness.

In less than two hours they were carried to Man-of-War Bay, where the Caraihs dwelt in huts, and Captain Aubin was laid in their only hammock. A very palatable mess of herbs and broth was prepared by a woman for him; and his wounds, which were full of maggots, were bathed with a decoction of tobacco. Every morning the men lifted him from the hammock, and carried him in their arms under the shade of a lemon tree, where they cover-

ed him with plantain leaves, as shelter from the beams of the sun. There they also anointed the wounds both of him and his mate, with a particular kind of oil to cure the blistering of the heat. They were even so generous as to give each a pair of trowsers and a shirt, which they had themselves obtained from ships casually arriving there to trade for turtle and tortoise-shell.

After cleansing Captain Aubin's wounds of vermin, the Caraihs anointed them every morning and evening with a kind of oil extracted from the tail of a small crab, resembling that which we call the soldier, or hermit-crab. A certain quantity of these being collected, their tails are bruised, and they are put in a large shell over the fire, where oil exudes, and is preserved. Nothing, besides this and the plantain leaves, accomplished the cure of Captain Aubin's wounds.

From the care and attention he experienced, added to the nutritious food supplied by his friendly hosts, he could support himself on crutches in about three weeks after landing, but remained extremely weak, like one recovering from severe indisposition. The natives crowded from all parts of the island to see him, and none came empty-handed; some brought one thing, some another, which was gratefully accepted. There were even visitors from the island of Trinidad.

In order that Captain Aubin and his mate might have some chance of further relief, he gave different natives several boards with his name cut upon them, to be shewn to any ships which might casually touch at the coast. But he almost despaired of this taking place, when a sloop, bound with a cargo of mules, from the river Oronooko to the island of Martinique, touched at Sandy Point on

the west side of Tobago. The natives shewed a plank bearing Captain Aubin's name, to the crew, who learnt the circumstances of his situation, and made them known at Martinique on arriving there.

Several merchants of Captain Aubin's acquaintance, who traded under Dutch colours, chanced to be at Martinique, and from thence transmitted intelligence of the fact to Messrs Roscoe and Nyles at Barbadoes, owners of the bark. They instantly dispatched a small vessel in quest of him, and he was thus enabled to leave the hospitable savages, after residing nine weeks among them.

When prepared to depart, they still furnished a quantity of poultry, roots, and fruit, particularly oranges and lemons, for the voyage; but Captain Aubin possessed nothing to give them in return, except the small boat, which they had repaired, and used occasionally in fishing, being more suitable than a canoe for the peculiar purpose to which it was applied. This he presented to them, and there was nothing that he would not have given, so deeply was he impressed by their generosity and benevolence. His friend, Captain Young, however, enabled him to present them with seven or eight bottles of rum, which constituted his whole stock, and he also gave them knives, needles, sail-cloth for the boat, fish-hooks, and cordage.

Captain Aubin, after two days occupied in preparation, was obliged to separate from the benevolent savages. About thirty men, women, and children, accompanied him to the beach, and all appeared impressed with the deepest regret, especially the old man, who had behaved like a father, on his departure. Nor could Captain Aubin and



his mate refrain from tears as the vessel withdrew from the bay.

In three days they reached the island of Barbadoes, where all received them with the utmost generosity, and testified the greatest interest in their misfortunes; and they experienced the highest liberality. Captain Aubin and his mate were scarce able to speak, from their respiration being affected. The former suffered from a violent oppression on his breast, and was still incapable of walking without support. The physicians of the island prescribed for both, but they advised Captain Aubin to return to Europe, while William, being of a stronger constitution, remained behind.

In consequence of this he sailed for England, and, on his arrival in London, was attended by the most eminent physicians, such as Reeves, Aken-side, and Schomberg, but he derived little benefit from their prescriptions. At length Dr Russel, well known by his residence at Aleppo, and his descriptions of the east, returned to London from Bath, and, having heard an account of Captain Aubin's case, gratuitously undertook his cure; at the same time, however, informing him, that it would be both tedious and expensive. The generosity of the inhabitants of Barbadoes, he answered, had relieved him of all anxiety on that head, and he solicited his prescriptions.

Dr Russel had seen many individuals afflicted with similar complaints, occasioned by long protracted thirst in traversing the eastern deserts. He ordered a country residence to be provided, prescribed bathing every morning; asses milk as the only diet, except fresh eggs, and moderate exercise. By means of this, and some alteration in re-

## **PHILIP AUBIN.**

gimen, Captain Aubin convalesced in about five months. Yet his constitution remained delicate, and he laboured under a great weakness of stomach. Nevertheless, he long survived his disasters, and visited France in the year 1778.

## ESCAPE OF EIGHT PERSONS

FROM THE ADU ISLES, 1757.

CAPTAIN Moreau sailed from the Isle of France in the sloop *Favori*, for Nisapour, on the 9th of February 1757. He fell in with the Adu Isles on the 26th of March, and from an observation, judged himself in  $5^{\circ} 6'$  south latitude, and  $76^{\circ}$  east longitude from the meridian of Paris. He then sent a boat ashore, but was compelled to abandon it, from finding no anchorage, and because a strong current, setting in from the westward, drove him to leeward of the isles. Six leagues further south, having discovered a bank with good anchorage, he thence endeavoured to rejoin his boat, but in vain.

The boat's crew consisted of three whites and five Lascars, and was commanded by M. Riviere, the author of this account. They coasted the islands without being able to attain any easy landing place; however, after losing sight of the vessel two days, M. Riviere was induced to attempt getting on shore on a small island, not more than a league in circumference, which he accomplished with the greatest difficulty.

The islands are twelve in number, they are low lying, and connected by a reef, dry when the tide

falls, and affording a passage from one to another. By their position, a bay is formed of about twelve leagues round, which is entered by the west, and there M. Riviere found thirty fathoms water. There is in this bay, which is itself circular, a square sand-bank, nearly a quarter of a league in circumference, with abundance of shells and fishes on it.

The largest of the islands, is less than a league in circuit, and covered with cocoa trees; there the boat's crew lived three months, feeding on the cocoa nuts, birds, and fish, but no water could be found on it. When their hatchets, with which they felled the trees, became unserviceable, M. Riviere resolved to sail for the coast of Malabar, though he had neither chart nor compass. The boat was loaded with cocoa nuts, and he embarked in it along with the two whites; the Lascars made a raft, such as the Indians call a *catamaran*, which carried the rest of the provisions, and was towed by the boat.

Four or five hours after losing sight of land, they fell in with a shoal, in steering a north-north-westerly course. The sea running high some days from their departure, the raft broke loose, on which the whites proposed to M. Riviere to abandon the Lascars, because the boat was very small. He rejected the idea with indignation, and although there were only thirteen days provisions, took all the Lascars into the boat. It is difficult to form an adequate idea of all the fatigues, dangers, and difficulties that assailed the adventurers. The humanity of M. Riviere on such a trying occasion, merits the highest praise. Happily he reached Cranganor near Calicut, in twenty-eight days after his departure from the Adu Isles.



## LOSS OF THE DUKE WILLIAM

TRANSPORT, 1758.

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**T**HE Duke William Transport, commanded by Captain Nicholls, was fitted out by him with all possible expedition in the year 1758, and lay at Spithead to receive orders. At length he proceeded to Cork, under convoy of the York man-of-war, to take in soldiers for America, but just on approaching the Irish coast, a thick fog came on whereby he lost sight of the ship, and as it began to blow hard that night and the next day, he was obliged to bear away for Waterford. When off Credenhead, guns were fired for a pilot; none, however, came off, and Captain Nicholls, being unacquainted with the harbour, brought the ship up, though the sea ran very high. A pilot at last came on board, but the transport broke from her anchor, and on getting under sail, it was almost dark. After running along for some time under the fore-topsail, triple-reefed, and scarce in sight of land, Captain Nicholls cast anchor; and next morning, to his great surprise, found high rocks so close astern, that he durst not veer away a cable. The sheet anchor had been let go in the night, and was the chief means of preservation; the yards and topmasts were now got down, a signal

of distress hoisted, and many guns fired. A boat then came from the windward, and a man in her said, if Captain Nicholls would give him fifty pounds he would come on board, which being promised, he ascended the stern-ladder. But whenever he found the ship so near the rocks, he declared that he would not remain on board for all the ship was worth. However, Captain Nicholls told him, that having come off as a pilot acquainted with the harbour, he should stay, and called to the people in the boat to hoist their sails, as he was going to cut her adrift, which he did accordingly. Meantime the pilot was in the greatest confusion; but the captain said it was in vain to complain, and if by cutting, or slipping the cables, he could carry the ship to a place of safety, he was ready to do it. The pilot replied, that he could neither take charge of her, nor venture to carry her in, for he apprehended the ship would be on shore, and dashed to pieces against the rocks, before she would veer; and if she did veer, that a large French East Indiaman had been lost upon the bar, which made the channel very narrow, and he did not know the marks, so as to carry her clear of the wreck. The ship now rode very hard, and it being Sunday, a great number of people were ready on shore to plunder her, should she strike. Of this Captain Nicholls entertained many apprehensions at low water, as she pitched so much; but fortunately, as soon as the weather became more moderate, two English frigates which lay in the harbour, sent their boats to his assistance, and the custom-house smack having also arrived, he escaped, though very narrowly, from the threatened danger.

The Duke William soon afterwards proceeded

to Cork to receive soldiers, and sailed from thence with a fleet of transports to Halifax, where they arrived safe, and went to besiege Louisbourg. After landing the troops, the transports, and some of the men of war, went into Gabarus Bay, where the admiral allowed the captains of the former to land their men, being sickly, on a small peninsula, which they engaged to defend from the enemy. Four or five hundred people, therefore, immediately set to work, and cut a ditch, six feet wide and four feet deep, quite across the peninsula, as a protection against the Indians; they planted cannon, and also placed several swivels on the stumps of trees cut down for the purpose. Huts were next erected, gardens made, and the whole ground cleared and converted into pleasant arbours, from selecting portions of the shrubs and trees.

Here the captains of the transports remained some time, during which the sick recovered surprisingly, and cures were operated by a remarkable expedient, called a ground-sweat. This was digging a hole in the ground, and, being put into it naked, the earth was thrown over the patient up to the chin, for a few minutes. At first the earth felt cold, but it quickly brought on a gentle perspiration, which cured the disorder. No one person died who underwent such treatment.

On the reduction of Louisbourg, the island of St John, in the entrance of the Gulf of St Lawrence, capitulated, and the inhabitants were to be sent to France in the English transports. They therefore left the peninsula, which the people had entrenched, and, after much bad weather, in which the Duke William parted her cable, and a tedious passage, arrived at St John's; but not without the whole fleet being in danger of shipwreck. A par-

ty of soldiers brought the inhabitants down the country to the different transports, and the Duke William, being the largest, the missionary priest, who was the principal man there, was ordered to go with Captain Nicholls. On his arrival, he requested permission for the other people who wished it, to come on board to be married, and a great many marriages followed, from an idea prevailing that all the single men would be made soldiers.

• Nine transports sailed in company; Captain Wilson, with Lord Rollo and some soldiers, on board, and Captain Moore also with soldiers, under convoy of the Hind sloop of war: the rest being cartels, had no occasion for convoy. Captain Moore's vessel was lost going through the Gut of Canso, by striking on a sunken rock, whence the soldiers whom she carried were put on board Captain Wilson's ship bound to Louisbourg. Captain Moore, his son, mate, and carpenter, took a passage in the Duke William.

Contrary winds obliged the fleet to lie in the Gut of Canso, where the French prisoners were permitted to go ashore frequently, and remain there all night, making fires in a wood to keep themselves warm, and some of them obtained muskets from Captain Nicholls for shooting game, as they were not afraid of meeting with the Indians. About three hours after departing, one of them came running back, and begged, for God's sake, that the captain would immediately return on board with his people, as they had met with a party of Indians, who were coming down to scalp them. Captain Nicholls, with the other masters and sailors, hastily went off, and had scarce got on board when the Indians actually reached the place that they had left. Thus they had a very narrow



escape of being murdered and scalped, had not the French been faithful, and Providence interposed.

The fleet, in gaining the Gut of Canso, had been assailed by dangers. During a fine night, some of the transports worked within the Gut, but Captain Nicholls, and Captain Johnson of the *Parnassus*, cast anchor without it. In the night a hard gale arose, and increased so much, that the latter let go three anchors, yet the ship drove ashore and was lost. Another ship, the *Narcissus*, also parted from her anchors, and was obliged to run ashore, and most of the rest suffered damage. When the weather became somewhat moderate, Captain Nicholls found that all the French prisoners on board the *Parnassus* had gained the land, and had made themselves large fires in the woods, on account of the cold showery weather which prevailed; and, on joining them there, he told them, to their great joy, that he would send boats to carry them off. This he did next morning, and, finding it impossible to save the hull of the *Parnassus*, though another ship was got off shore, every thing worth saving was taken out of her, and, in particular, one of the pumps, which was carried on board the *Duke William*, to serve in case of emergency.

On the 25th of November 1758, Captain Nicholls sailed from the Bay of Canso, leading other six transports, with a strong breeze at north-west. The whole captains agreed to make the best of their way to France, and not to go to Louisbourg, as it was a bad time of the year to beat on that coast, and then took leave of the agent who was bound thither.

The third day after being at sea, a storm blew in the night; being dark with thick weather and

I sleet, the Duke William parted company with three of the ships, and the storm still continuing, in a day or two parted company with the rest. Nevertheless the ship remained in good condition, and, though the sea was mountains high, she went over it like a bird, and made no water. On the 10th of December, Captain Nicholls saw a sail, which proved to be one of the transports, the Violet, Captain Sugget. On coming up, he asked how all were on board, to which Captain Sugget replied, "In a terrible situation. He had a great deal of water in the ship; her pumps were choked, and he was much afraid that she would sink before morning." Captain Nicholls begged him to keep up his spirits, and said, that, if possible, he would stay by him and spare him the pump he had got out of the Parnassus; he also told him, that, as the gale had continued so long, he hoped that it would moderate after twelve o'clock. Unfortunately, however, it rather increased, and, on changing the watch at twelve, he found that he went fast a-head of the Violet, whence, if he did not shorten sail, he would be out of sight of her before morning. Captain Nicholls then consulted with Captain Moore and the mate on what was most proper to be done, and all were unanimous, that the only means of saving the people in the Violet, was to keep company with her until the weather should moderate, and that the main-top-sail should be taken in.

Therefore, the main-topsail of the Duke William was taken in, and three pumps got out, to be ready in case of necessity. The spare pump was forced down an after-hatchway, and shipped in an empty butt, of which the French had brought several on board to wash in. Every thing was preparing,

both for pumping and baling, should it be required, and the people of the transport thought themselves secure against all hazards; they now believed that the Violet gained on them, and were glad to see her quite plain by about four o'clock.

On changing the watch they found the ship still tight and going very well, the carpenter assuring Captain Nicholls that there was no water to strike a pump. He, fatigued with walking the deck so long, designed going below to smoke a pipe of tobacco to beguile time, and desired the mate to acquaint him immediately should any alteration take place.

The board next the lower part of the pump had been driven, to see how much water was in the well; and every half hour, when the ball was struck, the carpenter went down. As he had hitherto found no water, Captain Nicholls felt quite comfortable in his situation in particular, and, on going below, ordered a little negro boy, whom he had as an apprentice, to get him a pipe of tobacco.

Soon after filling and lighting his pipe, he was thrown from his chair, while sitting in the state-room, by a blow that the ship received from a terrible sea, on which he dispatched the boy to ask Mr Fox, the mate, whether any thing was washed over. Mr Fox returned answer, that all was safe, and he saw the Violet coming up fast. Captain Nicholls then being greatly fatigued, thought he would endeavour to procure refreshment from a little sleep, and, without undressing, threw himself on the side of his bed. But before his eyes were closed, Mr Fox came to inform him that the carpenter had found the water above the keelson, and that the ship had certainly sprung

a leak : he immediately rose and took the carpenter down to the hold along with him, when, to his infinite surprise, he heard the water roaring in dreadfully. On further examination, he found that a butt had started, and the more they endeavoured to press any thing into it, the more the plank forsook the timber. Therefore they then went on deck, to encourage the people at the pumps, after making a mark with chalk to ascertain how the water gained upon them.

Captain Nicholls, considering his case desperate, went to all the Frenchmens' cabins, begging them to rise : he said, that, although their lives were not in danger, their assistance was desired at the pumps, where it would be of the greatest service. They got up accordingly, and cheerfully lent their aid. By this time it was day-light, when, to the great surprise and concern of the Duke William's people, they saw the Violet on her broadside at a little distance, the fore yard broke in the slings, the fore-topsail set, and her crew endeavouring to free her of the mizen-mast : probably she had just then broached to by the fore-yards giving way. A violent squall came on, which lasted for ten minutes, and when it cleared up, they discovered that the unfortunate ship had gone to the bottom, with nearly four hundred souls. The stoutest was appalled by the event, especially as their own fate seemed to be approaching.

All the tubs above mentioned were prepared, and gangways made ; the Frenchmen assisted, and also the women, who behaved with uncommon resolution. The hatches were then opened, and as the water flowed fast into the hold, the tubs being filled, were hauled up and emptied on the upper deck ; which, with three pumps constantly



at work, and baling out of the gun-room scuttle, discharged a very great quantity of water. A scam would have done them little injury ; but a butt's end was more than they could manage, though every method that could be deemed serviceable was tried. The spritsail was quilted with oakum and flax, and one of the top-gallant sails was prepared in the same manner, to see whether any thing would sink into the leak, but all in vain.

In this dismal condition the transport continued three days : notwithstanding all the exertions of the people, she was full of water, and they expected her to sink every minute. They had already got the whole liquor and provisions. The hold now being full, and the ship swimming only by the decks from the buoyancy of empty casks below, the people, about six o'clock on the fourth morning, came to Captain Nicholls, declaring that they had done all that lay in their power, that the ship was full of water, and that it was in vain to pump any more. Captain Nicholls acknowledged the truth of what they said ; he told them that he could not desire them to do more, that they had behaved like brave men, and must now trust in Providence alone, as there was no expedient left for saving their lives.

He then acquainted the priest with their situation : that every method for saving the ship and the lives of the people had been adopted, but that he expected the decks to blow up every moment. The priest was stunned by the intelligence, but answered, that he would immediately go and give his people absolution for dying ; " which he did," says Captain Nicholls ; " and I think a more melancholy scene cannot be supposed than so many people, hearty, strong, and in health, looking at

each other with tears in their eyes, bewailing their unhappy condition. No fancy can picture the seeming distraction of the poor unhappy children clinging to their mothers, and the wives hanging over their husbands, lamenting their miserable fate :—Shocking situation ! words cannot describe it !”

Captain Nicholls then called the men down the main hatchway, along with him, to examine the leak in the hold. He told them they must be content with their fate ; and as they were certain they had done their duty, they should submit to Providence, to the Almighty will, with pious resignation. He walked on deck with Captain Moore, desiring him to devise any expedient to save them from perishing. With tears in his eyes, Captain Moore assured him that he knew of none, as all that could be thought of had been used. Providence, in Captain Nicholl’s belief, induced him to propose attempting to hoist out the boats, so that if a ship should appear, their lives might be saved, as the gale was more moderate. But to this proposal, Captain Moore said it would be impossible, as every body would endeavour to get into them. Captain Nicholls, however, was of a different opinion, observing, that, under their severe trial, the sailors had behaved with uncommon resolution, and were very obedient to his commands ; he flattered himself that they would still continue so : and all were sensible, that in case the ship broached to, the masts must be cut away, to prevent her from oversetting ; when it would be beyond their power to hoist out the boats. He then called the mates, carpenters, and men, and proposed to get out the boats, at the same time acquainting them, that it was to save every soul on board if pos-

sible, and declaring that if any person should be so rash as to insist on going into them, besides those he should think proper, that they should immediately be scuttled. But all solemnly maintained that his commands should be as implicitly obeyed as if the ship had been in her former good condition: thus setting an example which is rarely to be found.

Captain Nicholls then went to acquaint the chief prisoner on board with what was about to be attempted. He was an hundred and ten years old, the father of the whole island of St John's, and had a number of children, grand-children, and other relations, in the ship. His observation was, that he was convinced Captain Nicholls would not do a bad action, for, by experience, he had found how much care he had taken of him and his friends, and likewise what endeavours had been used to save the ship and their lives; therefore they were ready to assist in any thing he should propose. Captain Nicholls assured him that he would not forsake them, but run an equal chance; this he thought the only means of saving their lives, should it please Providence to send any ship to their assistance, and it was their duty to use all means given to them.

He next asked Mr Fox and the carpenter whether they were willing to venture in the long-boat, to which they boldly answered in the affirmative, as, whether they perished on the spot, or a mile or two farther off, was a matter of very little consequence, and as there was no prospect but death in remaining, they would willingly make the attempt. Captain Moore, the carpenter, and mate, also willingly agreed to his proposal to go in the cutter.

The sea being too high to lower the boats into the water with runners and tackles, Captain Nicholls arranged, that the cutter should be got over the ship's side, with a proper penter made fast to her before she dropped into the water, and that those persons should be provided with two axes to cut the runners and tackles, when they should consider it the most suitable moment.

The cutter was accordingly got over the side, and the ship lying pretty quiet, they cut the tackles, when she dropped very well into the water, and the penter brought her up. They next went to work with the long-boat, and day-light having fairly come in, gave them great spirits, as they flattered themselves, should it please God Almighty to send a ship, it would be in their power to save all their lives, the weather being now much more moderate than before.

The mate and carpenter having cut the runners, the long-boat fell into the water as well as the cutter had done, and a proper penter being made fast, she brought up properly.

People were stationed at the main and foretopmast heads to look out for a sail, when, to the unspeakable joy of all on board, the man at the main topmast cried out that he saw two ships right astern making after the transport. Captain Nicholls having acquainted the priest, and the old gentleman, with the good news, the latter took him in his aged arms, and wept for joy. The captain ordered the ensign to be hoisted to the main-topmast shrouds, and the guns to be got all clear for firing. The weather was very hazy, and the ships not far distant when first discovered; whenever the transport hoisted her signal of distress, they shewed



English colours, and seemed to be West Indianien, of about three or four hundred tons.

Captain Nicholls continued loading and firing as fast as possible, when he perceived the two ships speak with each other, and setting their foresail and topsails, they hauled their wind, and stood off. Supposing that the size of his ship, and her having so many men on board, added to its being the time of war, might occasion distrust, he ordered the mainmast to be cut away to undeceive them. People had all the time been placed in the shrouds to cut away in case of necessity; but one of the shrouds not being properly cut, checked the mainmast, and made it fall right across the boats. On this Captain Nicholls hastily run aft, and cut the penters of both the boats, otherwise they would have been staved to pieces, and sunk immediately. A dismal thing it was to cut away what could be the only means of saving the people's lives, and at the same time see the ships so basely leave them. No words can picture their distress; driven from the greatest joy to the utmost despair, death now appeared more dreadful. They had only the foresail hanging in the brails; and the braces of both penters being rendered useless by the fall of the mainmast, and the yard flying backward and forward by the rolling of the ship, rendered the people apprehensive that she would instantly overset. The ship ran from the boats, until they remained just in sight; and finding they made no endeavour to join her, though each was provided with oars, foremast, and foresail, Captain Nicholls consulted with the boatswain on what was most proper to be done in their dangerous condition. He said that he thought they should bring the ship

to at all events, though he acknowledged it a dreadful alternative to hazard her oversetting: the boatswain agreed that it was extremely dangerous, as the vessel steered very well. However, Captain Nicholl finding that the men in the boats did not attempt to join him, called the people aft, and told them his resolution. They said it was desperate, and so was their condition, but they were ready to do whatever he thought best. But Captain Moore seemed to be quite against it. Captain Nicholls then acquainted the old gentleman, the priest, and the rest of the people, who were pleased to say, let the consequence be what it might, they should be satisfied, he had acted for the best, and all were resigned to the consequences.

He therefore ordered men to every fore shroud, and one with an axe to the foremast to cut it away should that measure become indispensable. But his own situation he declares to have been in the meantime dreadful: in reflecting that this alternative, though in his judgment right, might be the means of sending nearly four hundred souls to eternity. However, the Almighty endowed him with resolution to persevere, and he gave orders to bring the ship to. In hauling out the mizen, which had been greatly chafed, it split; a new stay sail was then bent to bring the ship to, which had the desired effect after a considerable time, for a heavy sea striking on the starboard quarter, excited an apprehension that it would be necessary to cut away the mast. When the men in the yawl saw the ship lying to for them, they got up their foremast, and ran on board, holding the sheets in their hands on account of the wind; and as soon as they arrived some men were sent to row to the assistance of the long-boat. They soon joined her, got

her foremast up, set the sail, as the cutter likewise did, and to the great joy of all, reached the ship in safety.

Just as the boats came up, the people at the mast-head exclaimed, "A sail! a sail!" and the captain thought it better to let the ship lie to, as by seeing the mainmast gone, it might be known she was in distress. The weather was hazy, and he could see to no great distance, but the strange vessel was soon near enough to perceive and hear his guns. She had scarce hoisted her colours, which were Danish, when her main-topsail sheet gave way; on observing which, Captain Nicholls conceiving her main-topsail was to be clewed up, and she would come to his assistance, immediately imparted the good news to the priest and the rest. Poor deluded people, they hugged him in their arms, calling him their friend and preserver; but, alas! it was short-lived joy, for as soon as the Dane had knotted, or spliced her topsail sheet, she stood away, and left them. "What pen is able," says Captain Nicholls, "to describe the despair that reigned in the ship!" The poor unhappy people wringing their hands, cried out, "that God had forsaken them!"

It was now about three in the afternoon; Captain Nicholls wore the ship, which she bore very well, and steered tolerably before the wind.

Towards half an hour afterwards, the old gentleman came to him in tears, and taking him in his arms, said he came by desire of the whole people to request that he and his men would endeavour to save their lives in the boats, and as these were insufficient to carry more, they would by no means be accessory to their destruction: they were well convinced by their whole conduct that they had

done every thing in their power for their preservation ; but that God Almighty had ordained them to perish, though they trusted he and his men would get safe on shore. Such gratitude for only doing a duty in endeavouring to save the lives of the prisoners, as well as their own, astonished Captain Nicholls : he replied, that there were no hopes of life, and as all had embarked in the same unhappy voyage, they should all take the same chance. He thought that they ought to share the same fate. The old gentleman said that should not be, and if he did not acquaint his people with the offer, he should have their lives to answer for. Accordingly the captain mentioned it to Captain Moore and the people. They said that they would, with the greatest satisfaction, remain, could any thing be devised for the preservation of the others ; but that being impossible, they would not refuse to comply with their request. The people then thanking them for their great kindness, with tears in the eyes of all, hastened down the stern ladder.

As the boats ranged up by the sea under the ships counter, those that went last cast themselves down, and were caught by the men in the boat. Captain Nicholls told them, he trusted to their honour that they would not leave him, as he was determined not to quit the ship until it was dark, in hopes that Providence would yet send something to their aid ; the whole assured him that he should not be deserted.

He had a little Norse boy on board, whom no entreaties could persuade to enter the boat until he had himself done so ; but as it was growing dark, he insisted on the boy going, saying he would immediately follow him. The boy obeyed, and got



on the stern ladder, when a Frenchman, whom the dread of death induced to quit his wife and children unperceived, made over the taffrail and trod on the Norse boy's fingers. The boy screamed aloud, which led Captain Nicholls to believe that some person was in danger, and on repairing to the place, followed by the old gentleman, they found, to their great surprise, that the man, who had a wife and children on board, was attempting to get away and save himself. The old gentleman calling him by his name, said he was sorry to find him base enough to desert his family. He seemed ashamed of what he had done, and returned over the taffrail. By this time, the people of the boat begged the captain to come, as the blows which she received from below the ship's counter, were like to sink her.

Captain Nicholls seeing the priest stretching his arms over the rails in great emotion, and apparently under strong apprehensions of death, asked him whether he was willing to take his chance in the boat. He replied in the affirmative, if there was room; and on learning that there was, he immediately went and gave the people his benediction; and after saluting the old gentleman, tucked up his canonical robes, and forsook the vessel. Captain Nicholls saluted him likewise, and several others, and then left them praying for his safety.

Whenever he entered the boat, he bid the sailors cast her adrift; it was very dark, and they had neither moon nor stars to direct them. "What a terrible situation!" he exclaims, "we were twenty-seven in the long-boat, and nine in the cutter, without victuals or drink." Uncertain of their

distance from the English coast, they agreed to keep as close as possible to the ship.

It began to blow very fresh, with sleet and snow; the people were fatigued to the uttermost, from working so long at the pumps, and after sitting in the wet and cold, they began to wish that they had staid in the ship and perished, as now they might die a lingering death. Either alternative was awful. Destitute of provision, it was most probable that one must be sacrificed by lot to keep the others alive; and their dismal situation, in rousing the most horrible anticipations, made them forebode the worst.

The boats now began to make water, yet the men refused to bale them, they were in a state of such extreme weariness, and not having slept for four nights, became regardless of their fate. Captain Nicholls, nevertheless, prevailed on them to free the long-boat of water.

Having a brisk gale, they soon run a long way from their unfortunate ship, when to their great distress, it fell quite calm at ten in the morning. This threw the people in despair, their courage began to fail, and as they could not expect to live so long as to make the land, death seemed again staring them in the face.

Some time after this unlucky party forsook the ship, four of the French prisoners let a small jolly-boat, which was still remaining, overboard, with two small paddles, and swam to her; and just as they left the vessel, her decks blew up with a report like a gun. She sunk in the ocean, and three hundred and sixty souls perished with her.

Captain Nicholls, at length observing the water coloured, asked whether the men had any twine, on which one of them gave him a ball.

from his pocket; they knocked the bolts off the knees of the long-boat, wherewith to make a deep-sea lead, and sounding with it, were rejoiced to find only 45 fathom water. But the people complaining greatly of hunger and thirst, Captain Nicholls said he was sorry to acquaint them he had nothing for them to eat or drink; yet encouraged them to bear up with manly resolution, as by their soundings they were near Scilly, and he doubted not, if it cleared, that they should see the land.

The little Norse boy, who had always kept close by the captain, now said that he had got some bread, and on taking it from the bosom of his shirt, it proved to be like baker's dough; however, it was bread, and very acceptable. The whole might amount to about four pounds; and Captain Nicholls having put it into his hat, distributed it equally, calling for those in the yawl to receive their share. But instead of being a relief, it increased their troubles, for being wet and clammy, it hung to the roof of their mouths, having nothing to wash it down. Mr Fox had some allspice also, which was of little service; having been cut in pieces, the people forced it down their throats, which created some saliva, and by that means it was swallowed.

About noon, a light air sprung up at south-west. Each boat had a fore-mast, foresail, and oars; but owing to the boats having been foul of the main-mast, all the oars were washed away except two from each. Captain Nicholls was told, in answer to his inquiries concerning the reason of noise among the crew, that two seamen were disputing about a couple of blankets, which one of them had brought from the ship. These blankets he ordered to be thrown overboard, rather

than they should be suffered to breed any quarrel, as in their unhappy condition it was no time to have disputes. But on recollection, having desired that they should be brought to him, he thought of converting them to use, by forming each into a mainsail. Therefore, one oar was erected for a main-mast, and the other broke to the breadth of the blankets for a yard. The people in the cutter, observing what was done in the long-boat, converted a hammock which they had on board, into a mainsail.

At four in the afternoon it cleared up, when the adventurers descried a brig about two miles distant, to which Captain Nicholls ordered the cutter to give chase, as it being lighter than the long-boat would sooner get up, and let her know their distress. But the brig, seeing the boats alter their course, directly stood from them, owing, as Captain Nicholls supposed, to their odd appearance. For war then prevailing, they were probably taken for the French lugsail-boats, that used to frequent the lands off Scilly. The cutter, however, gained fast on the brig, when, unfortunately, having got about half way, a very thick fog came on, and neither the brig nor the cutter were more seen from the long-boat.

Night fell, and the weather still continuing very foggy, the people, almost dead for want of sleep, reposed themselves, sitting half way in water, it being impossible for so many to find seats. Their Captain, anxious for their lives and his own, strove to keep his eyes open, though it was the fifth night that he had taken no rest. About eleven o'clock, when every one was asleep but the helmsman and himself, he thought he saw land. Yet he was determined not to call out *land* until he should be



sure that it was so. He squeezed his eyelids together to let the water run out of his eyes, as he found them very dim, though he could not suppose them so weak as they proved to be. Again he thought he saw land very plain, and was convinced that he could not be deceived. By this time the man at the helm had dropped asleep, and he took the tiller himself. Some space longer elapsed before he would disturb any body, but at last he awoke Captain Moore, telling him that he thought he saw land. Captain Moore, poor gentleman, only answered that they should never see land more, and fell asleep again. Captain Nicholls then awoke Mr Fox, who had obtained a sound sleep, and seemed quite refreshed. He immediately cried out that they were near land and close in with the breakers. Lucky it was that he had been awakened, otherwise Captain Nicholls, from being absolutely unacquainted with them, was satisfied that all on board would have perished.

At the word *Land*, every one awoke, and, with some difficulty, the boat cleared the rocks. At first the precise part of the English coast could not be ascertained, but, as it cleared more and more every moment, Captain Nicholls, on looking under the lee-leech of the blanket-mainsail, discerned St Michael's Mount in Mount's Bay. The boat would not fetch the land near Penzance, and, as she had no oars, it was determined to avoid steering round the Lizard and so for Falmouth, but to run her boldly on shore, whatever place she might chance to make. It was a fine night, and, after getting round the point, the people found the water very smooth; keeping the boat close to the wind, they made between Penzance and the point. Their joy at finding themselves in so fa-

vourable a situation, is not to be conceived; it gave them new life and strength. Those who were forward, exclaimed that there were two rocks ahead; Captain Nicholls hastened before, and his sight having come well to him, he carried the boat between them without touching ground, and in a little time ran her ashore on a sandy beach.

The seamen leapt into the water, and carried the priest and the captain ashore. The former, kneeling down, said a short prayer, and then coming to embrace Captain Nicholls, called him his preserver, and said that he had rescued him from death. Leaving the boat as she lay, all made the best of their way to the town of Penzance. But some of the people, with sleeping wet, were so much benumbed, that they could scarce get along; and Captain Nicholls himself declares, that, from the time of the ship unfortunately springing a leak, until that hour, he had no sleep, and very little sustenance. However, having fallen in with a run of fresh water on the road to Penzance, all were revived by drinking heartily of it.

The party, reaching the town about three in the morning, made up to a tavern where they saw a light, and, as it had been a market-day, the mistress of the house was still out of bed. When Captain Nicholls entered by the door, which was neither bolted nor locked, she was undressing, with her back to a fire, the light he had seen, and, being greatly alarmed at him and his men, screamed aloud, "Murder! thieves!" The appearance of twenty-seven people at such an unseasonable hour, was certainly enough to create apprehension, especially from the condition which they were in. But the captain, endeavouring to pacify her, requested she would call her husband or servants, as they

were shipbroken men, and give them some refreshment. The landlord soon came, and, having provided provisions, the people got into as many beds as were there, while the rest slept on the floor by the fire.

Next morning the captain, accompanied by the priest, went to the mayor of the town to make a protest before a notary, and to see if he could get credit, as both he and the people were in want of every necessary, and it was many miles to London. The mayor received him kindly, but told him that he was no merchant, and that he never supplied people in the condition that he was in with money, but, if he pleased, he would send a servant with him to Mr Charles Langford, a merchant who generally supplied the masters of vessels in distress with necessaries. Mr Langford received Captain Nicholls politely, but, in answer to his request for credit, that he might obtain such things as were most needed by his people, said, that he had made a resolution not to supply with credit any man to whom he was an entire stranger, as he had been deceived by one very lately; and, though his might have been a large ship, to judge by the boat which was come on shore, he, the captain, might not be concerned in it, and, as he should want a great deal of money, he should beg to be excused. Captain Nicholls answered, that he was partly owner of the ship, and Mr Langford might be certain that his bills were duly honoured. However, he said he could not do it.

Captain Nicholls, grievously disappointed, returned to the inn, where several tradesmen had arrived to furnish the people with clothes and other necessaries. He told the latter he could get no credit, but that they must travel on as far as

Exeter, where he was sure of obtaining relief, which was very unwelcome news, as most of the people wanted shoes. The captain next requested the landlord of the inn to get them some breakfast, but he desired to be excused, and wished to know, if the captain could get no credit, how he was to be paid. Captain Nicholls was quite at a loss how to act: being denied both credit and victuals, he thought that he would pawn or sell his ring, watch, buckles, and buttons. Accordingly, returning to Mr Langford, ~~he~~ he begged that he would give him what he thought proper for these things. He took the ring from his finger, the watch from his pocket, and, with tears in his eyes, was going to take the buckles out of his shoes, when Mr Langford prevented him, saying he should have credit for as much as he pleased, for he believed him an honest man, and saw that his people's distress touched him more, if possible, than his own misfortunes. He then gave what money the captain required.

During these transactions, the second mate and the eight men belonging to the cutter arrived. They said that it was so very thick they could not come up with the brig which they were in pursuit of, and that, seeing the Lands-End when it cleared, they got ashore. As nobody would buy the cutter, they had left her, and had inquired the way to Penzance, where, being in great distress, they rejoiced to meet their comrades.

Captain Nicholls went to the inn and discharged what was owing: on account of the unkindness which he had experienced, he resolved to stay no longer, and repaired to another house to breakfast. He next procured the necessaries wanted by his people, and then went with his mates to make a protest. But, not choosing that the de-



claration should proceed from his own mouth, Mr Langford's son acted as interpreter to the French priest, who was to make it. The priest accordingly made a strong and full affidavit, that Captain Nicholls and his people had tried every means to keep the ship above water; that they had used the French, all the time they were on board, with the greatest kindness and humanity, and that Captain Nicholls had parted from them with the utmost reluctance, and even at their own desire went into the boat, after all hopes of life were gone.

Having remained another day at Penzance to refresh the people, and getting credit for what was wanted, Captain Nicholls, Captain Moore, and the officers set out in a carriage for Exeter, while the people, who had got a pass from the mayor, walked on foot. At Redruth, a town in Cornwall, there were many French officers on parole, as also an English commissary. Captain Nicholls accompanied Father Pierre Girard, the priest, to the latter, in quest of a pass to Falmouth, that he might embark in the first cartel for France; and here took leave of him.

Captain Nicholls having reached London, was under the necessity of being examined at the Admiralty and Navy Office, about the loss of the people and the ship, she being a transport in the service of government. The Lords of the Admiralty and Commissioners of the Navy told him that he might say more than any man living, as he had brought ashore with him the first man of France, a priest, of course an enemy to both their religion and country: if his behaviour had not been good, he would not have attempted it; but at the same time, they acknowledged that without such

a proof, they could not have believed, but finding all hopes gone, he and his people had got away by some stratagem. They would pay they said to the hour that the ship foundered, and were very sorry that they could do no more.

The four Frenchmen above mentioned, who had left the transport in the little boat subsequent to the departure of Captain Nicholls and his men, got into Falmouth within two days.

“ So ended this dreadful and unfortunate voyage, with the loss of a fine ship, and three hundred and sixty souls ”

**WRECK OF THE LITCHFIELD**

**MAN-OF-WAR, ON THE COAST OF AFRICA, 29TH  
NOV. 1758. BY LIEUTENANT SUTHERLAND.**

**THE** Litchfield sailed from Ireland on the 11th of November 1758, in company with several other men of war and transports, under the command of Commodore Keppel, intended for the reduction of Goree. The wind was chiefly fair until the twenty-second, then kept pretty constant from south-east to south-west, and the voyage was prosperous until the twenty-eighth. On the evening of that day, Lieutenant Sutherland took charge of the watch at eight o'clock, when the weather proved very squally, attended with rain; the ship was then under her courses and main-topsail. At nine it was extremely dark, with a great quantity of lightning, and soon after there was a very hard squall. Captain Burton, the commander of the Litchfield, came on deck, and gave orders to keep sight of the commodore, making what sail the weather would admit, and retired. The commodore was seen at eleven, bearing south, but heavy squalls coming on, rendered it necessary to hand the main-topsail at twelve o'clock, and the ship was under her courses.

At one in the morning of the twenty-ninth, Lieutenant Sutherland left the deck in charge to the

first lieutenant, the wind blowing excessively hard, and a light, which was supposed the commodore's, bore south right a-head. At six o'clock Lieutenant Sutherland was awakened by a great shock, and a confused noise of the men on deck; he started up, thinking some ship had run foul of them. At that time, by his own reckoning, and that of every person on board, they were at least thirty-five leagues from land. But before he could reach the quarter-deck, he became too sensible of a dismal accident, by the ship striking violently on the ground, and the sea breaking all over her. Just after this he could observe the land, which appeared rocky, rugged, and uneven, two cables length distant. The ship lying with her broadside to windward, the sea broke completely over her; the masts soon went overboard, with very little assistance, and some men were carried off with them.

It is impossible for any one but an actual sufferer to conceive the distress of the unfortunate victims to the rage of the elements, and the condition of the vessel. The masts, yards, and sails, hanging alongside in a confused heap, the ship beating violently on the rocks, the waves curling up to an incredible height, and then dashing down with such force, as if they would have split the vessel in pieces, which indeed was expected every moment.

But fortunately some of the large waves breaking without, the remainder of their force came against the starboard quarter, and the anchors, which were cut away as soon as the ship struck, now assisted in bringing her towards the sea. This afforded the prospect of prolonging life a few hours, all that the people could expect on beholding the



rugged rocks, and the furious breaking of the surf. But after recovering a little from their consternation, they saw that it was necessary to get every thing possible over to the larboard, to prevent the ship from heeling off, and exposing the deck fair to the sea. The waves also in general breaking forward, they caught the opportunity of getting most of the starboard guns on the upper deck over, and what else they could come at.

Some of the people, contrary to the advice given them, were very earnest to get out the boats, and one, notwithstanding the dreadful sea running, was launched. Eight of the best men leaped into her, but she hardly got to the ship's stern, when she was instantly whirled to the bottom, and every one in her perished. The rest of the boats were soon washed to pieces on the deck.

A raft was then constructed of the davit, capstan bars, and some boards; which being finished, the people waited with resignation for the aid of Providence. The quarter-deck and poop were now the only places on which they could stand with any security, the waves being, in a great measure, spent before reaching them, owing to the obstruction presented by the fore part of the ship. She had filled so quickly with water, that there had been no time to get up any provisions.

The sea having greatly abated at four in the afternoon, as it was almost low water, Lieutenant Sutherland thought of swimming ashore. There was reason to suppose that the ship could not withstand the violence of the flood, as she began to drop to pieces very fast. One of the crew attempted to swim to the land, and reached it in safety.

Numbers of Moors stood on the rocks beckoning to the people to come ashore. This was at

first taken for humanity, but it soon appeared that they had only self-interest in view, and the poor man was left to crawl up the rocks the best way he could. However, Lieutenant Sutherland, the second lieutenant, and about sixty-five others, got ashore before it was dark; and then began to doubt whether they had made any choice for the better. Here they were left exposed to the weather on the cold sand, and obliged to go down to the shore to bring up pieces of the wreck to make a fire; and if they happened to pick up a shirt or a handkerchief, and did not give it up to the Moors at the first demand, a dagger was presented to their breasts. Neither had the Moors the humanity to assist those endeavouring to get ashore, who were entirely naked; on the contrary, they began to strip the others before they were out of the water, wrangling among themselves for a division of the plunder.

Those who thus escaped were allowed to retain a piece of an old sail, which was not thought worth carrying off, of which two tents were made, and the men and officers crowded into them, to preserve warmth and make room. In this uneasy situation, continually bewailing themselves and their poor shipmates, they passed a tedious, dark, and stormy night, without a drop of water, except what they caught through their sail-cloth covering.

At six next morning, a number of them went down on the rocks to assist their comrades in coming ashore, and found that the ship had been greatly shattered through the night. It being then low water, many attempted to swim ashore, in which some succeeded, but others perished. The people on board got a raft over, which had been constructing, and about fifteen embarked on it; but no

sooner had they put off from the wreck than it was upset; most of the men recovered it; however, they were hardly on, when it was again overturned, and only three or four of the whole were saved.

During this time, a good swimmer brought a rope ashore, though with great difficulty; just as he was quite spent, and thought of quitting it, Lieutenant Sutherland, by running hastily over the sharp rocks into the water, was lucky enough to catch it; and some of the others coming to his assistance, they by means of this rope drew a larger one to the land, and secured the end round a rock. This proceeding raised the spirits of the forlorn people on the wreck; for being hauled tight from the upper part of the stern, there was an easy descent for those who could either walk or slide on a rope, having another above to hold by, and thus they advanced almost half way ashore. The under rope was intended for a traveller to pull people ashore, being fastened to the large one by an iron ring, to traverse backwards and forwards. Unluckily there happened to be a knot on the large rope, and when once the ring was pulled over, it would not return: nevertheless it was of great service, and the means of saving a number of lives. The people continued landing by it until eleven o'clock, though many were washed off by the surf and perished.

The flood coming on raised the surf, and prevented more of the people from coming off, as the ropes could be of no further use. The others then retired from the rocks, and satisfied their hunger with broiling some of the drowned poultry. They found a well of fresh water about a mile off, which very much refreshed them. But their repast was scarce finished when the Moors, now grown nu-

merous, drove the whole down to the rocks, beating them if they lingered, though some were hardly able to crawl, to bring up empty iron-bound casks, pieces of the wreck which had the most iron about them, and other things.

Some of the people were ordered to search for the rest of the drowned poultry on the shore, that being apparently the best provender that could be expected: others were employed in erecting a larger tent; and a third party sent to assist their comrades in getting to land. The surf increasing greatly with the flood, and breaking on the fore part of the ship, she was at this time divided into three pieces: the fore part was turned keel up, the middle part soon dashed into a thousand fragments; and the fore part of the poop, now having about thirty men on it, fell. Eight of them, however, got ashore, with the assistance of their companions already there, though so much bruised that their recovery was despaired of.

A melancholy prospect was beheld: nothing but the after part of the poop remained above water, with a very small portion of the other decks, on which the captain, and towards an hundred and thirty men remained, expecting every wave to prove their last. The wreck seemed as if it was going to throw them all instantly to the bottom, and upset upon them; and every shock threw some of the number off, few or none of whom came ashore alive. During this distress the inhuman Moors laughed very loud, and appeared much diverted when any wave larger than common threatened the destruction of the miserable tottering wretches on the wreck.

Between four and five o'clock the sea had decreased much with the ebb; and the rope being



still secure, they now began to venture on it; but some tumbled off and perished, while others got ashore. About five o'clock, those on land beckoned as significantly as they could for the captain to come along the rope, as it seemed to be as good an opportunity as any that had been seen, and many came safe with their assistance. Several told them that the captain had determined to stay until all the men had made the best of their way to land, or, at least, until they had quit-  
ted the wreck. Though they admired his generosity, they could not but lament it. However, they still continued to beckon for him, and just before dark saw him come on the rope, which greatly cheered up their spirits. He was close followed by a good able seaman, who did all he could to encourage him and assist him in warping. As he could not swim, and had been so long without any refreshment, from the surf hurling him violently along, he was no longer able to resist the fury of the waves, and had lost hold of the great rope, and would inevitably have perished, had not a wave thrown him within reach of the ropes ashore, which he had barely sense remaining to seize upon. The others pulled him up, and he came to himself after sitting a little on the rocks. The savages of Moors would have stripped him, though he had nothing on except a plain waistcoat and breeches, had not his people showed their resolution to oppose them, on which they thought proper to desist.

The people continued to come ashore pretty fast, though many perished in the attempt: but they plainly saw their case was quite desperate, as the wreck must unavoidably fall to pieces with the next flood.

The Moors, grown tired with waiting for so little plunder, would not permit the shipwrecked mariners to stay behind them on the rocks, and drove them all up. Lieutenant Sutherland, with the captain's approbation, then went to the tent of a bashaw, who was, with many other Moors, dividing the valuable plunder, and by signs made humble supplications. The bashaw at last understood him, and gave them leave to go down to the shore, sending some Moors along with them. They carried fire-brands, to let the poor people on the wreck see they were still there ready to give them assistance. Lieutenant Sutherland supposes that several perished during his absence for want of help, for when he and his companions had been only a few minutes on the rocks, one approached very near before they saw him. Frequently, just as they were able to observe their struggling comrades, these were washed from the rope, and dashed to death against the rocks close beside them.

About nine at night, finding no more men would venture on the rope, as the surf was again greatly increased, Lieutenant Sutherland and his party sorrowfully retired to the tent, leaving, by the last man's account, between thirty and forty souls yet on the wreck.

They next thought of stowing every person into the tent, and therefore began by fixing the captain in the middle: every one then lay down on his side, as there was not room for their breadth. After all, many took easier lodgings in empty casks.

In the morning, the wreck was totally in pieces, and the shore quite covered with lumber. One person who was tossed up and down nearly two hours on a piece of timber, informed the survivors, that, about one in the morning, all the people on

the wreck had perished. He himself was thrown senseless on the rocks, but recovered and got to the tent by day-light, though severely bruised.

The Moors were very busy picking up every thing of value: they would not suffer the survivors to take the smallest article, except pork, flour, and liquor, of all which they secured as much as possible in the tent. Some were employed enlarging it and raising another, some trying to make bread, and others occupied in cleaning the dead stock.

At one in the afternoon the survivors were mustered, and their number found to be two hundred and twenty. One hundred and thirty were drowned, among whom were the first lieutenant, the captain of marines and his lieutenant, the purser, gunner, carpenter, and three midshipmen. The survivors then returned public thanks to God for their preservation.

At five in the morning of the following day, the second of December, George Allen, a marine, was discovered dead close by the tents. His death was supposed to proceed from drinking brandy, as several had got drunk by the same means, notwithstanding all the officers could do to prevent it. Two men were flogged, by the captain's orders, for insolence, which was judged highly necessary, to convince both the Moors and his own people that they were still under command.

The survivors subsisted entirely on the drowned stock, with a little salt pork to relish it, and the flour made into cakes; all which were issued regularly and sparingly, not knowing whether any thing could be obtained from the Moors, as they still continued very troublesome, wishing to carry off the canvas of the tent. Their bashaw seemed

to take the part of the English, nevertheless he winked at the villainy, and shared the plunder with his countrymen. The survivors were employed by him in saving all the iron they could from the wreck.

At two in the afternoon, a black servant arrived, who was sent by one Mr Butler at Saffy, a town about thirty miles distant, to inquire into their condition, and give them assistance. Having brought pen, ink, and paper along with him, the captain wrote a letter in return. The knowledge that there was yet some one who interested himself in their fate was a great source of comfort to the shipwrecked mariners.

In the course of the following afternoon, they received a letter from Mr Butler, along with some bread and a few other necessaries, which were a seasonable supply. This day they heard that one of the transports belonging to the fleet and a bomb vessel were wrecked about three leagues farther north, and a great many of the men saved.

Next day the people were employed picking up pieces of sail, and whatever else the Moors would allow them. They were now divided into messes, and served with bread and the flesh of the drowned stock.

Another letter arrived from Mr Butler, who proved to be factor to the Danish African Company, and himself a Dane. At the same time a letter also came from Mr Andrews, an Irish gentleman, a merchant at Saffy. The Moors proved less troublesome this day than before, as most of them were going off with what they had got.

The drowned stock being all expended, on the fifth the people were occupied in gathering mussels at ebb tide; and in rolling casks of water



from the well. At ten in the morning, Mr Andrews arrived, bringing along with him a French surgeon, and some medicines, of which many of the bruised men stood greatly in need. One of the seamen died in the afternoon, from his bruises mortifying.

Though the Moors promised to return with cattle, they staid away, and the men were forced to live on mussels and bread. They were supplied by Mr Andrews with papapooses, a kind of slippers, and a blanket to every two men, and in the afternoon of the seventh, a messenger arrived from the Emperor of Morocco, at Sallee, with orders to the people, in general, to provide them with provisions. The Moors began to be a little more civil, apprehensive that the emperor might be displeased at their cruel usage of the English. Accordingly, in obedience to his orders, they brought some lean bullocks and sheep, which Mr Andrews purchased for them, but only fit for boiling into broth.

On the ninth, several dead bodies were seen on the rocks. The people were employed in bringing up the oak timbers and other things from the sea side, the emperor having directed that whatever could be of use to his cruisers, should be saved. Next day, as he had sent orders that they should be conducted to Morocco, they prepared, in the morning, to march, and at nine o'clock they set out with about thirty camels, brought to carry the lame and provisions, taking all the spirits with them, divided into hogsheads for the convenience of carriage. At noon they joined the crews of the other two wrecked vessels, and at this time the whole of their company were mounted on camels, except the captain, who had a horse.

In this manner they proceeded until seven in the evening, when only two tents were procured, which could not contain a third of the people, so that most of them lay, during the night, exposed to the dew, which was heavy, and very cold. The total number on the march, was found to be three hundred and thirty-eight, including officers, men, and boys; also three women and a young child, which one of the women brought ashore in her teeth.

The journey was resumed in the morning, when the English were attended by a number of Moors on horseback. The alcaide, entrusted with conducting them, provided several of the officers with horses. But they did not travel straight for Morocco, as it was intended that they should meet the emperor on his way from Sallee. Resting at six that evening, tents sufficient to cover all the people were furnished. The custom of the country was to travel from sunrise to sunset, and seldom stop through the day.

Next morning the party set out at five as before, and at two in the afternoon they saw the emperor's cavalcade at a distance. At three, one of his relations, named Muley Adriss, came to them and told the captain that it was the emperor's orders, that he should that instant write to the governor of Gibraltar, to send to the King of Great Britain for information whether he would settle a peace with him or not. Captain Barton directly sat down on the grass and wrote a letter, which being given to Muley Adriss, he returned to the emperor. The party rested for the night at six o'clock; they were well furnished with tents, but with very little provision.

On the 13th they were desired to halt until the men were rested, which they greatly required, and more provision was brought them than formerly. In the morning, Lieutenant Harrison, commanding officer of the soldiers belonging to Lord Forbes's regiment, died suddenly in his tent. While his companions were burying him in the evening, they were disturbed by the barbarous Moors throwing stones, and scoffing at them. On the 15th, they found that his grave had been opened, and the clothes stripped off him.

Their journey was prosecuted from the morning of the 16th, and the tents pitched at four in the afternoon. Here some of the country Moors maltreated the people, who were taking water from a brook; they would always spit in the vessel, before allowing any to be taken away. On this, several of the other English went down from the tents to inquire into the matter, where they were immediately saluted with a shower of stones. However, they ran in upon the assailants, beat some of them pretty soundly, and put them to flight, besides taking one who thought to defend himself with a long knife. This fellow was severely punished by the alcaide entrusted with conducting the march.

Continuing the journey as usual, they arrived at the city of Morocco on the 18th of December, without having seen one dwelling-house in the whole way. Here they were insulted by the rabble, and two hours afterwards were carried before the emperor, surrounded by five or six hundred of his guards. He was on horseback, before his palace gate, that being the place where he distributes justice to his people. He told Captain Barton, by an interpreter, that he was neither at peace nor war with England, but that he would detain

him and the others, until an ambassador came from England to settle a firm peace. The captain then desired that they might not be treated as slaves, to which he hastily answered, they should be taken care of. They were conducted from his presence to two old ruined houses, where they were shut up amidst dirt and innumerable vermin of all sorts.

Mr Butler being at that time in Morocco, came and assisted the English with meat and drink, and obtained liberty for the captain to go home with him to his lodging. He likewise sent some blankets for the officers, with which they made a shift to pass the night pretty comfortably, as they were very much fatigued.

A sentry put over them, was taken off on the subsequent morning, and the people had liberty to go out. Some bread and beef were also sent in the course of the day, but there was no utensil to dress the latter. The people were all day occupied in clearing out the rubbish, and destroying the vermin as well as they could.

On the 20th of December, some of the necessities which the party had on the road were brought to them, after they had been examined. The captain's trunk had been rummaged, and robbed of nineteen ducats, several rings, silver buckles, a watch, and other things, chiefly belonging to the foremast-men. Mr Butler, and his partner, Mr Dekon, did all in their power to assist them; and the people now had pots in which to boil their victuals, and were in no want of bread.

The emperor, on the subsequent day, sent money to the captain for the men's support, at the rate of twopence a-day each; but as this was too little, the captain got money from Mr Butler to



make it up to fourpence sterling, which he himself managed for them, to the best advantage. They were allowed a pound of meat with broth, and a pound of bread, daily.

In the morning, the emperor ordered the captain, and every officer, to appear before him. They immediately, thirty in number, repaired to his palace, where they remained waiting in an outer yard, two hours, while he, in the meantime, diverted himself with seeing a clumsy Dutch boat rowed about a pond, by four of the petty officers. About noon, they were called before him, and ranged in a line, thirty yards off. He was then sitting in a chair by the side of the pond, with only two of his chief alcaides by him.

After viewing them some time, he desired the captain to advance, and asked him a good many questions concerning the navy, and where the squadron was going; the officers were also called forward, by two or three at a time, as they stood according to their rank. Then asking them some very insignificant questions, and taking some to be Portuguese, because they had black hair, and others to be Swedes, because they had white hair, he judged none to be genuine English except the captain, second-lieutenant, and Lieutenant Sutherland, and the ensign of the soldiers. But on assuring them that they were all English, he cried *bono*, and gave a nod for their departure, which they returned with a very low bow, glad to get to their old ruined house again.

Two days afterwards, the emperor sent a message to the captain, with orders that if any of the English should be guilty of a crime, he should punish them the same as if they were on board his ship; but if they happened to quarrel with the

Moors, they behoved to be judged by the Moorish laws, which are very severe against Christians.

Henry Nicholls was punished this day for getting drunk and abusing his officers.

The 24th of December, being Sunday, all the people were assembled, and prayers read the same as on board. There was only one Bible among the whole, for which they were indebted to Mr Andrews; and although no clergyman was among them, Captain Barton never omitted assembling the men on Sunday, and had service performed either by the second lieutenant or Lieutenant Sutherland. Prayers were also read on Monday, as it was Christmas-day.

The captain received a present of some tea, and loaves of sugar, from one of the queens, whose grandfather had been an English renegado.

Disagreeable intelligence was circulated on the 26th, that the emperor intended to oblige all the English to work in the same manner as other Christian slaves, excepting the officers who had been before him on the 21st. And next morning an alcaide actually came and ordered all the people out to work except those who were sick. Eight were, on intercession, to remain behind as cooks for the rest, which they took daily by rotation. The others returned at four in the afternoon, having been employed in carrying wood, turning up the ground with hoes, or picking weeds in the emperor's gardens.

Next morning they returned to their labour at day-light. An hour and a half in the middle of the day they were allowed to sit down, but received many a blow from their drivers, while doing their best to deserve better usage.

Meantime the captain was striving all in his

power to get this remedied, which, with the aid of a person called Juan Arbona, there was a prospect of accomplishing. Juan Arbona had been eight years in the country : he had a pass from General Blakeney at Minorca, and was taken under English colours. During the last two or three years the emperor had kept him near his person, and reposed great confidence in him. He was much attached to the English, and did every thing he possibly could to assist them. The people returned at four in the afternoon ; two of the soldiers had each received a hundred bastinadoes for behaving in a disrespectful manner while the emperor was looking at their work.

On the 30th Captain Barton received a kind message from the emperor, with his permission to ride or walk in his gardens with any of his officers.

On the 1st of January 1759, the people were still at work ; the captain had not been able to obtain leave for them to remain at home on Sundays. But they had better treatment, chiefly owing to the good offices of Juan Arbona, who took all imaginable pains to make their work as light as possible. He now obtained liberty for the Christians to quit their work at twelve o'clock on Sundays, which was no small favour here, and what was never done before. Hitherto the people kept their health pretty well, having a pure cool air to work in at this season : in summer, however, it is burning hot, and seldom any wind to alleviate the effects of it. A new moon commencing on the 2d of January, the emperor sent Captain Barton money for the people's support until the next moon.

Nothing material happened afterwards until the beginning of February, when two soldiers died within a few days of each other. The emperor,

on inquiring the reason, was told by their friend, Juan Arbona, that it was occasioned by taking cold for want of clothes; whereon he was directly ordered to give every English slave as much white linen as would make two shirts. }

On the 22d of March, a Spaniard having some words with a Moor, who was the aggressor, was carried before the emperor. Unluckily that day he was in bad humour, and commanded the poor man to be knocked on the head with a hoe immediately before him. His dead body was exposed two days afterwards, during which time the Moors and Jews shewed their disposition, by dashing the body to pieces with stones as they passed.

About the middle of April, an agreement having been completed for the ransom of a number of Spaniards, an hundred set out from Morocco for Tangier, where Moors and money being delivered for them, they embarked for Cadiz.

The English at this time got letters from Gibraltar, which gave them hopes of a speedy release. The men were less healthy than originally, many having fluxes and fevers.

On the 26th of May the emperor received a letter from Lord Home, offering one hundred and seventy thousand dollars to him as a present for the freedom of the English, with which he seemed to be very well pleased. He promised immediately to send for the English ambassador to settle all other affairs, and let them go; but they found that there was no trusting to any thing he said. However, on the 15th of June, a courier, who was a Jew, named Toledano, set out with the emperor's letter to the ambassador, with whom his orders were to return, after proceeding to Gibraltar.

About the 25th of the same month, the emperor



ordered that the English should work only from day-light till nine o'clock, and then go home till three in the afternoon, after which they should return and work till sunset, which was a greater favour than any slaves were ever shewn before. The number going to work was also limited to an hundred, which might soon enable them to make up two gangs; for, the people being kept from working in the excessive heat of the sun and wind, which is often so hot that the face cannot be held to it, the sick list was found to shorten daily.

On the 2d of July, the emperor left Morocco with an army of six thousand men, which was speedily to be augmented to thirty thousand. His expedition was against some part of his dominions, refusing to acknowledge his authority; and about the 10th, he sent seventy human heads to Morocco, which were placed against one of the great gates of the city. There were also about two hundred prisoners, the chief of whom being about forty in number, were put into one of the towers of the wall; and about one third of them put on the top of it, with large wooden rammers. They were then supplied with earth, which they were obliged to beat, until the roof gave way with the load, by which means they all perished together. These things were done without any body taking notice of them.

The men now made two gangs, and were in better health and spirits than at any preceding period. The emperor, who was four or five days journey off, had some smart skirmishes. Towards the tenth of August, orders came for fifty men more to go to work, and the English discovered that he was uneasy, because the ambassador did not arrive.

On the thirtieth, after having ten days before heard that his journey was deferred, they learnt that he would sail in a few days from Gibraltar. However, in the latter end of the month, they were disappointed, though agreeably, with intelligence that Admiral Boscawen had beat the French fleet; and the ambassador's ship having been in the engagement, he was obliged to remain some time at Gibraltar to refit. But during all this interval the emperor's cruisers had passports from Lord Home, and were out, constantly sending in prizes, which impaired the hopes which the English had of an accommodation during the summer. In the middle of September, most of them having returned successful into port, they were assured that the long-expected ambassador was at Sallee, with his Majesty's ships *Guernsey* and *Thetis*. The redemption money was on board, with which the emperor was acquainted at his camp; but he being elated with his success both by sea and land, and having nothing to dread until the subsequent spring from the English, trifled with the ambassador to detain him on the coast, which is very dangerous in the winter season. His last demand was two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, thirty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of powder and shot. The ambassador had come up to two hundred thousand dollars, but on hearing this last demand, he sent information to the emperor that it would never be acceded to, for the reason he had already given him; and very prudently withdrew from the coast, having lost two anchors in Sallee Road.

When the emperor found that nothing was to be done by keeping the ships, he dispatched one of his alcaides to Gibraltar, with more moderate

proposals ; and desiring that a gentleman might be sent with authority from the ambassador to talk of the subject, and to bring the ambassador's determination. Accordingly, Mr Hasten, the ambassador's secretary, a very sensible gentleman, was sent with answers to his last demands ; and he used every argument to convince the emperor that it was not in the ambassador's power to grant him warlike stores, that being contrary to treaties firmly subsisting between England and other nations, then at peace with her. The emperor, however, would not be satisfied, and suffered Mr Hasten to return to Gibraltar, without coming to a determination.

Meantime there were eight or nine English passengers, taken under Portuguese colours, and brought to Morocco, which those already there were afraid would afford additional cause for dispute.

Towards the middle of October, Toledano was again sent to Gibraltar, with proposals more moderate than any of the former, and authority to accommodate all differences. He came back in the beginning of February 1760, bringing Lord Home's ultimate resolution to give two hundred thousand dollars for the redemption of every British subject in the emperor's dominions, and twenty thousand dollars to purchase warlike stores, which he might do by sending a vessel of his own to England. This the emperor said was very well, and more than he knew before, and that now, his heart was quite clean to the English. But as he was of a most avaricious disposition, and never kept his word, or held long in the same mind, little dependence was put in what he said.

About this period Captain Barton was exposed

to a great degree of maltreatment. For some time past he had been allowed to keep a mule, and commonly used to ride from his house, which was near the palace, to that where the men were lodged. The emperor one day happened to see him ; but Captain Barton thinking him so far distant that he should not be taken notice of, only put his hat under his arm, and rode on, as he was that instant obscured by a wall. The emperor, however, sent two of his guards after him, and he was just going to alight at the house, when they came up, and pulled him off his mule, at the same time giving him some blows with straps, which they always carry for that purpose. One on each side seized him by the collar, and in this contumelious way hurried him to one of the gates, and shut him up in a hole behind the door. The mob would hardly allow his own people to follow ; nevertheless, Lieutenant Sutherland got in with him, but had not been there a quarter of an hour before the same two fellows that seized him, came and set him free. They wanted to get some money, which is the custom of the country ; however, Captain Barton would give them nothing, and bid them go and tell their master so.

The men were kept at work stricter than ever, and the alcaides came often to search the house ; but the vigilance of Captain Barton, and their best friend, Juan Arbona, got the better of a number of difficulties and impositions, which would otherwise have made the men's lives very unhappy.

After a fortnight's consideration of the last proposals, the emperor resolved to send Toledano once more to Gibraltar, with his final resolution of accepting two hundred thousand dollars for all the English subjects, and twenty-five thousand in lieu



of every other pretension. He now seemed more in earnest than before, and accordingly Toledano departed for Gibraltar, about the middle of February. He was ordered to give the emperor immediate information of Lord Home's agreeing to his proposals, on which the English were to leave Morocco, that they might be ready to embark at Sallee when the ambassador arrived there.

The emperor, on the 25th of March, received assurances that his demands should be duly complied with on their embarkation at Sallee; and the ambassador would sail thither with the money and presents by the first fair wind. He then sent for Captain Barton, who had likewise received letters, to inform him that he and all the shipwrecked people should soon set out for Sallee.

They were overjoyed at this intelligence. Captain Barton got money from the merchants, with which all requisites were provided for three hundred and twenty men, during a journey of ten days. The people, notwithstanding, were still kept to their work.

On the 11th of April the men were no longer called out to work, and, in the following evening, the emperor sent for Captain Barton, the second lieutenant, and Lieutenant Sutherland, and told them that they were to depart next morning, and that he would make peace with their nation if they were willing,—if not, he did not care. He then gave a nod for their departure, which they most cheerfully accepted of, with a very low bow, and walked off, with light hearts.

• Mules and camels were provided next morning at nine o'clock; and every one of the people were mounted, two being generally on each camel. They then went without the city, and, when all

had assembled, commenced their journey, attended by a bashaw and one hundred soldiers on horseback.

They were now treated in a more agreeable manner than when they made their entrance, nearly eighteen months before : Captain Barton was asked how fast he chose to travel, and when he wished to stop. The tents were pitched in the evening ; all were properly numbered, and formed an exact oval encampment ; the captain's tent closing one end, and that of the inferior officers the other. In this good order they pursued their journey, wanting for nothing, and well taken care of by their black guards as to watching.

On the fourth day of the march they had a skirmish with the country Moors. It originated from some of the men in the rear stopping to buy milk at a village, for which the Moors endeavoured to make them pay an exorbitant price after they had drank it, but the men refused to comply. The Moors, therefore, began to beat them, which the men returned ; and more going to their assistance, a smart battle was maintained until they grew too numerous. Meantime some rode off to call the guard, who instantly came with their drawn scimitars, and dealt pretty briskly round them ; neither were the English idle, and the blood soon trickled down a good many of the Moors' faces. The guards seized the chief man of the village, and carried him, with the English, to the bashaw who was the conductor. He, having heard the case, dismissed him without farther punishment, in consideration of having been well beaten.

The travellers reached Sallec on the 22d of April, where they pitched their tents in an old castle, and had the happiness once again to see three

of their royal master's ships lying at anchor to receive them. But when they viewed the bar of the harbour, with such a high white roaring surf upon it, they began to dread that their embarkation would prove tedious. It was the 4th of May before the bar was smooth enough for the boats to go out, and then only half the people could be embarked, there not being enough of boats for the whole. Captain Barton judged it expedient first to send off all the soldiers, inferior officers, and some sailors, to the number of one hundred and sixty-two, over the bar. They came to a grapnel, and waited until half the money was brought from the ship and put into their boat, which returned over the bar, and the men got safe on board. Those remaining on shore cast many a wishful eye towards them until the 13th, during which interval they suffered much uneasiness, as the Moors were suspicious of the ambassador's not coming on shore, and were desirous of detaining some of the officers as securities. But the ambassador and Captain Barton's sagacity at last conquered the difficulty, and all got over the bar, where they waited until the whole redemption money was put into the boat belonging to the Moors. The English then proceeded on board the Guernsey, with hearts full of gratitude to God and their country for their deliverance from so barbarous a people. They were cheerfully welcomed by the ambassador and all his officers, whose kindness they experienced a full month, during which time they waited for the passengers. These consisted of twenty-five men and women, whom the emperor wished to detain until the ambassador went to him. As this part of his desire could not be complied with, he at last sent an envoy to settle the point with the English ambassa-

dor, and consented to let the whole go except Juan Arbona and Pedro Umbert. These he peremptorily refused to part with, which occasioned a general condolence with the former, for he was a trusty friend to the English during their adversity, and kindly assisted them in all their difficulties, which might possibly have much sooner been terminated if Britain had properly resented an outrage offered to Mr Read the consul.

• This gentleman, whose virtues and abilities were well known, embarked in a twenty-gun frigate at Gibraltar for Morocco in November 1757. Soon after his landing the frigate was attacked by a corsair of equal force belonging to the empcror, and some men were killed. But the insult to the British flag was gallantly revenged by the captain, driving the corsair on shore, where she was destroyed. This the emperor made a pretext for imprisoning the consul and his attendants, and he demanded a ship, with naval and military stores, being, as he said, an indemnification for the loss of his corsair. On the consul's refusal to comply with these demands, he was thrown into a dungeon, and threatened to be burnt if he did not immediately sign his consent. But no fear of death could move him to comply with what was so injurious to the honour of his king and country. At length an order came for his being set to work with the common slaves: this was more than the utmost fortitude could support, and death soon released him from it. Had the British government then battered their sea-ports, and destroyed their shipping, especially the corsairs, and if the English admirals, like Blake, had drove them into their own ports, instead of granting them passes, their



pride would have been humbled, and their demands more reasonable.

On the 27th of June the shipwrecked people arrived at Gibraltar, and two days thereafter having sailed for England in his Majesty's store-ship, Marlborough, they all arrived, in good health, on the 7th of August. They remained in quarantine until the 19th of September 1760, when they went ashore. Captain Barton and his officers were afterwards tried by a court-martial for the loss of the Litchfield, and honourably acquitted.

## LOSS OF THE BRIG TYRREL,

AND SUBSEQUENT DISTRESSES OF THE CREW,  
JULY 1759\*.

THE following brief but affecting narrative adds another to the long list of calamities at sea, which occur through indiscretion, or the oversight of some important precaution. No vigilance can be too great when surrounded by the dangers of the ocean; for prudence and humanity equally demand the most watchful care in those to whose guidance the lives and fortunes of others are committed. Regret for a catastrophe which has happened is of little avail, and it only aggravates the ensuing misery to reflect with what facility it might have been averted.

The brig Tyrrel, commanded by Captain Arthur Coghlan, sailed from New-York to Sandy-Hook on the 28th of June 1759, and there came to anchor, awaiting the captain's arrival with a new boat and several things required. He came on board early on the following morning, when the boat was hoisted in and secured, and at eight o'clock he sailed from Sandy-Hook on a voyage to

\* It is not quite evident that the original of this narrative has been procured; but its features are sufficiently prominent to shew there can scarce be any hazard of error in the more important parts.

the Island of Antigua. The captain, then designing to paint the boat with his own hands, ordered it to be cast loose from the lashings.

Towards the afternoon the vessel made a little more water than usual, which excited no apprehension from being easily kept under, and at eight at night scarce seemed increasing. But at twelve o'clock very heavy squalls came on, and caused the vessel to heel greatly to one side, which shewed her to be deficient in ballast. Upon this the captain came on deck and ordered both topsails to be close reefed.

These squalls were not of very long continuance, as at four in the morning they had so much abated as to admit of both reefs being let out; and the weather, though yet thick and hazy, becoming still more moderate, at eight o'clock the top-gallant sails were set. Nothing of sufficient consequence to attract observation ensued, except that the vessel made somewhat more water; and the captain was principally engaged in his proposed occupation of painting the boat, and its appurtenances of oars, helm, and tiller.

At four in the afternoon of Monday the 30th of June, a hard gale at north-north-east brought the vessel so much down on her side as to create universal alarm; and her deficiency being now too conspicuous, Captain Coghlan was earnestly entreated to sail either for New-York or the Capes of Virginia. The top-gallant sails were taken in, and the topsails close reefed in the evening; but the weather again became more moderate, and more sail was afterwards made.

Hazy weather prevailed next morning, and very hard squalls early commenced; however, it appears that the brig continued under single-reefed

topsails until night. The gale still increasing on the 2d of July, another reef in each topsail was taken in, and the top-gallant-yard brought down. Though there was more water in the hold, it was not much regarded, as every watch pumped it out; and the two after guns had been previously transported forward, in order to give more effect to the wind on the ship's head.

The wind shifting at four in the morning of the 3d of July, without any probability of abating, the captain now completely satisfied that the vessel was very crank, and ought to have a greater quantity of ballast, agreed to stand for Bacon Island Road, in North Carolina. But while in the very act of wearing her for this purpose, a sudden squall laid her down on her beam ends, never to rise again. She completely overset; her sails, masts, and rigging, all lying in the water.

At the moment of the accident, Mr T. Purnell, the chief mate, who had never had off his clothes from the time he left the land, was lying in the cabin on a chest. He was rolled off it by the ship going over, and with great difficulty reached the round-house door, where he was immediately knocked down against the companion by the step ladder, proceeding from the quarter-deck to the poop. But this proved a fortunate circumstance in the issue, for by laying the ladder against the companion, it served both him and the people below in the steerage for a communication to windward. Thus they were enabled to get through the aftermost gun port on the quarter-deck. The ship being quite on her broadside, every moveable rolled down as she went over, and among the rest the boat, her lashings having been cast loose by order of the captain, but she turned bottom upwards.



There was a necessity for prompt decision, and the only prospect of the people preserving their lives being by means of the boat, Purnell, along with the cabin boy, and two others, who were excellent swimmers, plunged into the sea. With great difficulty they succeeded in righting her, though she remained brim full, and washing with the water's edge. Making the end of the main-sheet fast to the rope in her stern post, those who were in the fore chains of the brig sent down the end of the boom-tackle, to which they fixed the boat's penter, and lifted her by that means a little out of the water, so that she swam about two or three inches free, but almost full within. The cabin boy was then put into her, with a bucket which happened to float past, and he began to bale out the water as quickly as possible; another person also with a bucket soon assisting him, they in a short time freed the boat of water entirely. Two long oars, which were stowed in the larboard quarter of the brig, were next put into the boat, and the people rowed right to windward, for as the wreck drifted, she presented a threatening appearance; and Purnell, the mate, with two men, put off from the wreck in search of the oars, rudder, and tiller, which, by good fortune, were all successively recovered. They then returned to their miserable companions, who testified no little joy at their return, from having given them up for lost, and night was quickly approaching.

While rowing about in the boat, a small cask containing about half a peck of white biscuit floated out of the round-house, and was secured; but absolute dough from being completely soaked in sea-water, and about twice as much of the common sea biscuit was in like manner recovered.

These two scanty portions constituted the whole provisions saved by the mariners; they were entirely destitute of fresh water, though, had the carpenter been able to come at his tools to scuttle the ship's sides, they could have procured plenty of both.

The people having got a compass, resolved to forsake the wreck at nine o'clock at night; and when very dark, embarked in the boat, which was nineteen feet six inches long, and six feet four inches broad. Their whole number consisted of seventeen persons; but from their scanty stores, and the boat lying deep in the water, they entertained very little expectation of being able to survive long. The vessel had, before the accident, run three hundred and sixty miles by dead reckoning, on a course south-east by east; and the wind having gone round to the westward, it was directly opposite to the point which was most desirable; and it began to blow so very hard, that in order to preserve the boat, they were obliged to keep her before wind and sea. Soon after leaving the wreck, she shipped two heavy seas, and had these been followed by another, her loss was inevitable.

Next morning by sunrise, the mariners concluded, that during the night they had been driving east-south-east, which was the reverse of their course, and the wind dying away, the weather became quite moderate. Some of them unluckily trod on the compass, which destroyed it, and it was thrown overboard as useless.

The people now proposed making a sail of some frocks and trowsers, which they conceived would be of great assistance, but they found both needles and thread wanting. However, on further inves-

tigation, a needle in a knife was got from one, and another proved to have some fishing lines in his pocket. These were unlaid, the frocks and trowsers ripped up, and then sewed together, so that a very tolerable lug-sail was prepared against sunset.

A mast was made of one of the long oars, which had been got out of the ship, and a yard, by splitting up one of the thwarts of the boat, with a very large knife belonging to a seaman. The foretopgallant halyards had also been thrown into the boat, and served to lash the pieces of the thwart together by unlaying the strands, and besides, sheets and tacks were procured out of them. The only guide of the mariners was the polar star; and during the night a fresh breeze prevailed. Next day the weather continued very moderate, and they enjoyed as good spirits as their comfortless condition would admit.

On the fifth of July, the weather was much the same, and the mariners knew from the situation of the polar star, that they were steering for the land. Mr Purnell remarked on the following day, that some of the men appeared fatigued, and had resorted to drinking salt water. Now, as they conceived, the wind was in the southward, and they steered, as they supposed, from the polar star, towards the north-west; but in two days the wind shifted, and began to blow very fresh from the north. It died away, and the oars being got out, all laboured at them without distinction; however, the wind rising again relieved them from this labour, and in the morning of the ninth of July, they judged, from the coldness of the water, that they were on soundings. Most of the people were in good spirits, and in the night they

found that they had been steering about north by west.

On the 10th of July, some of the mariners had drank a very great quantity of salt-water. Purnell, after doing so once, however, and having recourse to his own urine, remarked that the second mate had lost a considerable degree of his strength and spirits; as also at noon, that the carpenter was seized with delirium, which was increasing every hour. About dusk he became quite outrageous, and nearly overset the boat by attempting to throw himself out. But as strength gradually declined, he grew more manageable, and was persuaded to lie down in the middle of the boat among some of the people. Soon after sunset, the second mate had lost his speech; and Purnell desired that he might lean his head on him. He died without a groan, on the 11th of July, being the ninth day of his misery, and in a few minutes afterwards, the carpenter expired, nearly in a similar manner.

The situation of the survivors was rendered still more dreadful by the awful scenes before them: to describe their feelings is impossible, general despair pervaded the whole, and each man believed his own fate to be fast approaching. All betook themselves to prayers, and then after some little time stripped the bodies of their two unfortunate comrades, and threw them overboard.

The weather being at this time very mild and almost calm, they got the boat cleaned, and resolved to enlarge the sail, from the frocks and trousers of the deceased. Purnell persuaded the captain to lie down among some of the people, while the boatswain and another assisted him in making the sail, which was completed by six or seven in the afternoon. He also fixed his red flannel waist-



coat at the mast-head as a signal, which would most likely be seen.

Some of the people, soon afterwards, observed a sloop at a great distance, approaching, as they conceived, from the land, which revived the drooping spirits of the whole. They hastened to get out their oars, at which they laboured by turns, and exerted their remaining strength to reach her. But night falling, and the sloop having the advantage of a fresh breeze, she disappeared from view, and left these unhappy people overwhelmed with regret. However, from keeping the polar star on the starboard bow, they still entertained hopes that they were making for the land. During the ensuing night, William Watling, a seaman, aged sixty-four, fifty years of which he had passed at sea, died, worn out with fatigue and famine; he prayed to the last moment for only a drop of water to cool his tongue. Next day, two more reduced to the lowest ebb, shared the same fate; both expired without a groan.

The wind rose so high on the morning of the 13th of July, that it was necessary to furl the sail, and keep the boat before the wind and sea, which drove her off soundings. But the wind becoming moderate, the sail was hoisted, and a fine breeze from south-west prevailed all night. The gunner now died, and all the survivors were reduced to such weakness, that not one was able to row.

Next morning, two more of the crew expired, and also other two in the evening. The survivors again came on soundings; so far as they could judge, the wind went round to the south-west, and all night they stood in for the land.

Other two died on the earlier part of the 15th of July, and were thrown overboard, as well as

the rest had been, immediately when the breath had forsook their bodies. Still the remainder thought themselves on soundings, while thick and hazy weather continued.

Purnell at this time, remarked that the cabin-boy was in the best condition of the whole, that his intellects were entire ; and not being forced to the same exertion as the rest, he concluded that he would be the only survivor, but his sentiments were carefully retained to himself. The captain, too, seemed to have kept up his spirits, and to be tolerably well.

The hazy weather rendered the course of the boat more uncertain during the day, for in the night the polar star was such a guide, that if kept for a time on the starboard, it could not fail of bringing her to land.

Two more of the crew expired in the evening, and these were followed by Thomas Philpot, an old experienced mariner. His articulation became so imperfect that his companions could not understand him, and he died in convulsions. The task of throwing his body overboard almost exceeded their power, for he was a large and corpulent man. Thus one day had been fatal to no less than five of those miserable beings.

The survivors still stood in for the land, as they supposed, on the 16th of July ; and to bring the head of the boat the better to the wind, Purnell prevailed on the captain and the boatswain to lie down before. It soon appeared how erroneous his former conjectures had been, for the cabin-boy, whose condition promised the longest life, died in the evening.

Only three persons of seventeen now survived. It is not easy to picture their distress. One after

another, had protracted a miserable existence to die the most dreadful death, that of famine: What hope or prospects could their wretched comrades entertain!

In the morning, Purnell asking his two companions whether they thought they could eat any of the boy's flesh, they signified their inclination to try; whence, the body being quite cold, he cut a piece from the inside of its thigh, a little above the knee. Part of this he gave to the captain and boatswain, and reserved a small portion to himself. But on attempting to swallow the flesh, it was rejected by the stomachs of all, and the body was therefore thrown overboard.

Early on the succeeding morning, the 18th of July, Purnell found both his companions dead and cold. Their melancholy fate taught him to anticipate his own dissolution. Yet his understanding was still unimpaired, though his body was feeble, and his spirits as good as his deplorable condition would admit. He never lost hopes of making land, and he knew, from the colour and coldness of the water, that it could not be very remote. The weather continued very foggy, and he lay to all night, with the boat's head to the northward.

After a day of variable weather, in which Purnell was more convinced of his being on soundings, he thought that he saw land, and stood for it; but, apprehensive of being entangled among rocks and shoals, he had adopted the precaution of the preceding night in lying to.

On the 22d of July, Purnell observed some barnacles on the boat's rudder, resembling the spawn of an oyster, which encouraged him with greater hopes of approaching the land. He got off the rud-

der, and, scraping them from it with his knife, ate them : he was now extremely weak, though his spirits kept up ; but the boat having considerable motion, it proved difficult for him to replace the rudder. He was far more elated next morning at sunrise, with the certainty of being within sight of land.

He rose up in the middle of the day, and, leaning his back against the mast, felt himself revived by the sun. In this position he adopted a contrivance to steer the boat. Next day he did the same, and, in the course of it, saw a sail at a very great distance, proceeding, as he supposed, from the land, towards which he steered all night ; but he had lost sight of the sail.

Very early in the morning of the 25th of July, while the sun was rising, Purnell, with inexpressible joy, descried a sail, and found, after he was completely up, that she was a two-masted vessel. Nevertheless, as she was astern, and at a great distance to leeward, he was under considerable perplexity what course to follow ; but, in order to observe her motions better, he tacked about, and soon afterwards saw that she was very fast approaching. He then lay to until she came within two miles of him, though still to leeward, and he discovered that she was a topsail-schooner. Edging down towards her, he got within half a mile, when he saw some people on the deck, beckoning to him to come under their lee-bow. At length, the intervening distance being only 200 yards, the people of the schooner hove her up in the wind until Purnell got alongside, when they threw a rope to him.

From the manner in which the boat and oars were painted, they suspected that she had belong-



ed to a man-of-war, and that Purnell had carried her off from some of his majesty's ships at Halifax, whence they should render themselves liable to punishment if they received him; and they likewise conjectured, from seeing the captain and boatswain lying dead in the boat, that they had perished of some contagious disorder, by which they might be infected. Thus Purnell was strictly examined, and kept some time in suspense. Meantime the people of the schooner told him, that they had made the land from the mast-head on the same morning, and were running along shore for Marblehead, which place they belonged to, and expected to reach next morning. At last, they said he might come on board, and, on his answering that he was incapable of doing so without assistance, two men were ordered by the captain to help him.

Purnell, when the crew proposed casting the boat adrift, assured them that she was quite new, and would well indemnify the trouble of hoisting her in; therefore they threw the dead bodies overboard, took out all the clothes, and got the boat into the schooner.

This vessel was commanded by Captain Castleman, who, on Purnell's request, sent one of his sons to bring Purnell some water, but the quantity, as he judged, being too great, he threw part away. Purnell drank the remainder, which was the first fresh water he had tasted for twenty-three days. He was next assisted down to the cabin, where he was supplied with some soup; but of this he could swallow very little: and his body, being covered with ulcers, motion gave him the most acute pain. When the seamen were at breakfast in the cabin, a squall obliged them all to go on deck, and, during their absence, Purnell, having observed a

stone bottle, took a hearty draught of its contents, without previous smelling or tasting, thinking they were rum. However, the liquid proved to be sweet oil; and Purnell having replaced the bottle, lay down on a bed prepared for him by the people of the schooner.

Here he remained, helpless as a child, and with some person constantly beside him, until the 29th of July, when the schooner came to an anchor at the end of her voyage. Captain Castleman, having landed at night, returned next morning along with the owner of his vessel, and then Purnell was carried ashore to Marblehead, in a boat, but so feeble as to require the support of two men. He was immediately put to bed, a nurse hired, and clothes provided for him. The medical attendants by whom he was visited, prognosticated his recovery, though they said it would be slow, and, accordingly, three weeks elapsed before he was able to come down stairs. He remained two months in Marblehead, where he experienced the greatest care and humanity, and his strength was gradually regained; yet the nails of his fingers and toes, which had almost entirely withered away, did not begin to grow for many months afterwards. All his expences were paid, and a passage procured for him to Boston, by the sale of the boat, wherein he and his unfortunate companions had suffered so much misery.

## FAMINE IN THE DOLPHIN SLOOP,

CAPTAIN BARRON, 1759.

**T**HE Dolphin sloop, bound from the Canaries to New York, had been one hundred and sixty-five days at sea, one hundred and sixteen of which the crew were in a state of famine. Captain Bradshaw of the Andalusia took them up at sea, and, when they came alongside of his ship, they were so completely exhausted, that they were obliged to be hoisted on board by ropes. The ship's company then consisted of the captain and seven others; but such poor miserable creatures were never beheld:—and had it been a week longer, the whole must have died. They declared to Captain Bradshaw that their ship's provisions had been exhausted above three months; that they had eaten their dog, their cat, and all their shoes, and, in short, every thing on board that was eatable. When reduced to the last extremity, they all agreed to cast lots for their lives, which was done accordingly: the shortest lot was to mark the sufferer, and the next shortest him who was to be the executioner. The lot fell on a passenger, Anthony Galatia, a Spanish gentleman. He was shot through the head, which was cut off and thrown overboard. His entrails were then taken out and

ate, and afterwards all the remaining part of his body, which lasted but a very short time. The captain, seeing the crew bent on casting lots a second time, luckily happened to recollect that he had a pair of breeches lined with leather. He took out the lining, and cut off, for each man's share, a piece of about an inch and a half square, as a daily allowance; and that, with the grass growing on the deck, which Captain Bradshaw declared was four or five inches long, was their whole sustenance for about twenty days before being taken up.



**SHIPWRECK OF A RUSSIAN CREW,  
ON THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS, 1758,—1760.**

**I**N the year 1748, Simeon Novikoff of Yakutsk, and Ivan Bacchoff of Ustyng, agents for Ivan Shilkin, sailed down the river Anadyr in Siberia, and through the bays of Kopeikina and Onemenskaya, where they met with many sand-banks, which they passed in safety. Next steering into the exterior gulf, they remained waiting for a fair wind. The appearance of several of the Tchutski tribe on the neighbouring heights, apparently reconnoitring, rendered them cautious. In coming down the river they had spent nine days; and having set sail, and doubled a sandy point, they reached the sea.

Bad weather prevailed from the 10th to the 30th of July, by which they were tossed about near the mouth of the Anadyr, and ran up a small river called the Katirka, which is plentifully stored with fish, and whose banks is inhabited by Koriacks, tributary to the Russian empire. They again put to sea, and, after beating about some time, made Beering's Island, where they lay at anchor six weeks. A violent tempest arose, and, on the 30th of October, dashed their vessel to pieces on the rocks.

The crew were saved, however, and employed themselves in searching for the remains of the wreck of Beering's vessel, which had been cast away here some years preceding. Fortunately they found some materials, though injured by time and the weather, which they preserved, and, having collected the drift-wood, which comes ashore during winter, built a small boat, only seventeen Russian ells and a half in length. This they accomplished with great difficulty, and then put to sea in quest of an unknown island, which they thought they saw lying north-east. Finding their conjectures erroneous, they altered their course and stood for Copper Island, from whence they sailed to Kamtschatka, where they arrived in August 1749.

This new vessel, which was called the *Capiton*, was given to Ivan Shilkin, as some compensation for the losses he had sustained, with the privilege of employing it in a future expedition to the Aleutian Islands. On the 26th of September 1757, Ivan Shilkin put to sea, carrying with him Ignatius Shedentsoff, a Cossac, who was sent to collect the tribute for the crown, a crew composed of twenty Russians, and the like number of Kamtschadales.

The *Capiton* had sailed but a short time when she was driven back to Kamtschatka by stress of weather, and there run ashore, by which the rudder was carried away, and one of the crew lost. This accident prevented the vessel from putting to sea until the following year, with thirty-nine of the original crew, several persons being left behind from sickness. She steered directly for Beering's Island, where they took up two men who had been shipwrecked. These men formed part of the

crew of a vessel belonging to one Krassilnikoff, which, in the course of a voyage to the Aleutian Islands, came to Beering's Island for the purpose of wintering. Krassilnikoff sailed on the 1st of August 1754. On the 10th he came in sight of an island, where so many inhabitants appeared on the shore as deterred him from landing. He landed on Copper Island in great distress for want of water, after procuring which he sailed. But tempestuous weather forced him back, and having anchored near the shore, a storm arose, which drove the ship from her anchors, and wrecked her on the shore. The crew were saved, however, and found means to secure a considerable quantity of things from the ship, though greatly damaged. During their residence on Copper Island they suffered many disasters: three were accidentally drowned on the 15th of October; others almost died of want: and, as an accumulation to their distresses, a high tide on the 29th of December washed away a great portion of the stores they had recovered, and all the wood which had been collected from the wreck. In the ensuing spring they reached Beering's Island in two small boats, whence all except the two now taken up by the Capiton obtained a passage to Kamtschatka in different vessels.

The Capiton sailed from Beering's Island in August 1758, and after meeting with very tempestuous weather, touched at the nearest Aleutian isles. Next they continued their course towards those more remote, and cast anchor off the second. A boat being immediately sent ashore, was so unexpectedly attacked by a numerous body of islanders, that the people could scarcely escape to the vessel; and a heavy sea now rising from the land, the ship parted her cable, and drove out to sea. Thick

and hazy weather prevailed, during which the ship was wrecked on an island not far from the one she had left; and the crew were with difficulty saved, with the loss of every thing except their arms.

The men had scarcely got on shore, when they were beset and attacked by numbers of savages in boats from other parts of the island. The attack was the more dangerous, because several of the Russians were incapable of making any resistance from having suffered so much from cold and wet; only fifteen remained able to defend themselves, who advanced boldly towards the assailants, and one of the number, who was slightly acquainted with their language, endeavoured to sooth them, but without success. The savages shouted on their approach, and discharging a shower of darts, wounded one of the Russians in the hand. On this the Russians fired in their own defence, killed two of the assailants, and forced the rest to retire. Notwithstanding a fresh body appeared, as if with the view of assisting their companions, the attack was not renewed; and the savages soon afterwards left the island.

From the 6th of September to the 23d of April, this shipwrecked crew underwent all the extremities of famine. They lived during that period on shell-fish and roots, and were sometimes reduced to eat pieces of the leather which the sea washed in from the wreck of the vessel. Seventeen died of hunger, and the rest would have soon followed them had it not been for the sustenance afforded by a dead whale cast ashore.

On this island the Russians remained another winter. In the course of their residence they killed two hundred and thirty sea otters. They set



sail in the beginning of summer 1760, in a small vessel which they had built of the remnants of the wreck of their own ; but had scarcely reached one of the Aleutian isles, when they were again shipwrecked, and lost every thing. Only thirteen of the crew survived, who returned to Kamtschatka, in July 1761.

## LOSS OF THE ANN FRIGATE, 1760.

BY SETH HOUGHTON.

“ IN the latter end of October 1760, I sailed from Liverpool for Cork and the West Indies, on board the Ann frigate, mounting fourteen guns, and manned with thirty-seven men,

On the 3d of November, we found ourselves deeply embayed in Caernarvon Bay: and the wind blowing a storm, and full into the bay, all attempts to weather either Barry Island or Holyhead, were fruitless. Therefore, on consulting with my officers, I was of opinion, that the most prudent, and indeed the only adviseable measure we could take, would be to run ashore on the most favourable sand beach that we could find, in order that as many lives might be saved as possible.

Accordingly we bore away, and passed Caernarvon Bar, which probably might have been attempted, had we not seen the Pearl, a Liverpool ship, ashore there, where all the crew perished. Our ship struck a little after two in the afternoon, about two miles to leeward of the bar, and a quarter of a mile from the shore. Some of the people, partly by the boat, and partly by swimming, immediately got on shore, but I continued on board.

until near five, to persuade the remainder to attempt their own preservation. However, as they seemed obstinately determined in their resolution of continuing on board, I then took leave of them, and leapt off the weather fore-chains with my cork jacket, when a sea struck me against the spritsail-yard with such violence, that I was quite stunned; and I continued for some time the sport of the waves, betwixt the bow of the ship and the spritsail-yard, before I had power to clear myself of the latter. At last I happily did so, and swam directly for the shore. But the bruises I received on quitting the ship, two of my ribs being broke, soon rendered me insensible and incapable of helping myself, and if it had not been for the cork jacket, I must have inevitably perished; for while that buoyed me up, the sea and wind drove me ashore, where people were ready to save me.

Next day, I found on inquiry, that nineteen of the people were saved, and eighteen drowned. The latter principally consisted of the best swimmers in the ship, some of whom vainly boasted that water could not drown them. But, alas! in such a mountainous sea, human strength is but a poor resource; for next to Divine Providence, I attribute my miraculous preservation to the jacket, of the utility of which I am so well convinced, that I have recommended it, in the strongest terms, to all my acquaintances, as an apparatus that no one should go to sea without. The weight of my jacket altogether, was about three pounds."

## SHIPWRECK OF THE UTILE,

COMMANDED BY M. DE LA FARGUE, ON SANDY ISLE  
1761.

SANDY ISLE was discovered in the year 1722, by the ship *Diana*, commanded by Captain Feuillée; it is quite flat, and not above a quarter of a league in circumference: at the north and south extremities, however, drinkable water is to be found fifteen feet below the surface.

The vessel *Utile*, commanded by M. de la Fargue, was cast away there in the year 1761. The officers and crew, which was chiefly composed of blacks, saved themselves on this little island, where they remained six months; and during that time, constructed a bark, in which all the whites embarked. After a short passage, they reached St Mary's, a small island on the east side of Madagascar.

The blacks remained on the shoal, vainly expecting aid from those who had sailed. How much must humanity be shocked to learn, that they were abandoned to die a miserable death without the smallest exertions to save them.

On the 29th of November 1776, M. Tromelin, commanding a corvette, *La Dauphine*, fell in with Sandy Isle. He succeeded in overcoming the dif-



difficulties opposed to his landing on this dangerous bank, and succeeded in carrying the melancholy remains of the company of the *Utile* to the Isle of France.

Eighty negroes and negresses had perished, some of want and disease, others in attempting to save themselves on rafts. Only seven negresses were able, during fifteen years, to resist the most deplorable situation that can be figured. The whole bank is but about 1100 yards in length, and little more than 600 in breadth; and the highest place 15 feet above the level of the sea. It is absolutely sterile, and quite exposed to the fury of the tempest. The blacks had built a hut out of the wreck of the vessel, and covered it with the shells of turtle; and feathers, artfully interwoven by the negresses, were their clothing. On that bank, therefore, the seven survivors had lived fifteen years, preserving themselves solely on shell-fish and brackish water. At the period of their deliverance, they carried along with them a young child, which also was enfeebled by the extreme weakness of its mother.

The negresses reported that they had seen five vessels, several of which had fruitlessly attempted to gain the place of their captivity. For a short time, they had some hopes of relief from the approach of a small vessel, the *Sauterelle*; for a boat belonging to her endeavoured to land; but from the apprehension of shipwreck, suddenly put off, and with such precipitation, that a sailor remained on the island. This man seeing himself abandoned by his comrades, while exerting himself in the cause of humanity, took the desperate resolution of trying to reach Madagascar on a raft.

About three weeks before La Dauphine arrived, he had embarked along with three negroes and negresses.

This dangerous shoal lies in 15° of south latitude.

## FAMINE SUFFERED

● ON BOARD OF THE PEGGY, 1765.

**T**HE Peggy, a sloop commanded by Captain David Harrison, sailed from New-York on the 27th of August 1765, with a cargo of different articles, and also with a negro on board for Fayal, one of the Azores. She arrived there in safety, and being cleared, took in a cargo of wine, brandy, and some other commodities, with which she sailed back for New-York, on the 24th of October.

Fine weather prevailed until the 29th, when it began to blow very hard, and the wind increased into one continued storm until the first of December. The rigging was greatly damaged, and as the vessel could make very little way, and all the provisions, except a small quantity of bread, being exhausted, it was necessary to restrict the crew to a quarter of a pound daily, a pint of wine, and a quart of water each.

The ship had now become leaky, the sea was swelled into mountains by the storm, and the thunder rolled incessantly above in one dreadful peal, almost without intermission.

While in this distressed condition, by which the people were in danger of either sinking in the vessel, or of floating until they perished of hunger,

they fell in with two ships, the one bound from Jamaica for London, and the other from New-York to Dublin. But, as an aggravation of their calamities, the weather was so bad, that there could be no communication established; and with the most acute sensations they beheld the vessels disappear.

This circumstance rendered it necessary that the scanty allowance of bread and water should be still farther reduced; and all the people agreeing to a regulation which was the result of necessity, it was lessened by degrees, until every morsel of food was exhausted, and also the whole water, except about two gallons, which remained dirty at the bottom of a cask.

The unfortunate men, while preserving every kind of sustenance, remained obedient to the captain, but now they became desperate on being totally deprived of it. They seized the wine and brandy, and speedily rendering themselves intoxicated, their exclamations of distress were mingled with curses and blasphemy.

The dregs of the water cask were abandoned to the captain, who abstaining as much as possible from wine, carefully husbanded them with all economy.

In the midst of this complication of want and excess, and the consequent distraction and despair, another sail was descried. Every eye was instantly directed towards it, and immoveably rivetted on the object. Some actuated by the principles of devotion, conceived that because this was Christmas day, it had been chosen as the season for their deliverance. Hanging out a signal of distress, the strange sail had neared them so



much at eleven in the forenoon, that they were able to impart their condition.

Calm weather now prevailed, and the captain of the vessel promised whatever relief was in his power, but confined it only to a supply of bread, from being reduced in every other article of provisions. Yet this he delayed sending, under pretence of being occupied in making an observation, while the poor famished wretches waited an hour in the most anxious state of suspense, though in perfect confidence of relief. At length Captain Harrison, quite exhausted with hunger, fatigue, and weakness, labouring under severe rheumatism, and finding a mist come over his eyes, retired to enjoy some rest in his cabin.

He had scarce been there a quarter of an hour, when one of his people came running down, with looks of unutterable despair, to tell him, in accents scarce intelligible, that the strange vessel was making all speed away, without affording even the inconsiderable relief that had been promised.

The captain crawled on deck, where he found the painful intelligence only too indisputably verified. Nay, the unfeeling wretch crowded more canvas than before, and, in less than five hours, was out of sight.

So long as the unfortunate men, thus basely deserted, could discern the smallest traces of his course, they hung about the shrouds, and ran from one part of the ship to another, with frantic gestures and ghastly looks. They pierced the air with their cries, while yet possible that they could be heard, and implored assistance with lamentations still louder, as the distance between the vessels increased. But the strange captain, with un-

exampled inhumanity, pursued his voyage without paying the smallest regard to their entreaties.

Though this aggravated disappointment heightened the distress of the crew, they struggled as long as possible for self preservation. The only living animals on board of their ship were two pigeons and a cat. The former were immediately killed, and partitioned among them for a Christmas dinner.

Next day the cat was also killed, and divided into nine parts, which were distributed by lot, as nine were to partake of the repast. The head fell to Captain Harrison, who devoured it with greater relish than he had ever enjoyed from tasting food.

On the day following the people began to scrape the bottom of the ship for barnacles, but most of those above water had been beat off by the waves, and the men were too weak to hang long over the side.

During all this time the unfortunate crew were in a state of intoxication, and the sense of their condition seemed to evaporate in oaths and blasphemy. While they were constantly occupied in heating wine in the steerage, the captain subsisted on the dirty water at the bottom of the cask, half a pint of which, with a few drops of a medicinal balsam, constituted his whole sustenance during twenty-four hours. In this condition he awaited death, and would have contemplated its approach with little emotion, had it not been for the difficulties in which it would have involved his wife and children. Yet, at intervals, he still flattered himself that some other vessel might heave in sight, and rescue him from impending destruction. But the time within which that could be done was short, both from the state of famine that prevailed,

from the leakiness of the ship, and, indeed, the men were both too much inebriated, as well as too feeble, to keep the water under with the pumps. Having devoured every thing on board, they had neither candles nor oil, and, as it was then the depth of winter, sixteen hours were passed in total darkness, except for the glimmerings of their fire.

By the assistance of the only remaining sail the vessel continued to make a little way; but on the 28th of December she was overtaken by another storm, by which it was blown in rags. She now lay a wreck in the water, and at the mercy of the winds.

During an interval of sixteen days it does not appear in what manner the crew subsisted: the cat was the last morsel of meat they had tasted; all the candles and oil had been consumed before the 28th of December; they could get no barnacles from the ship's side; yet on the 13th of January the whole survived. In the evening of that day, the mate, at the head of the people half drunk, but with horror in their countenances, entered the captain's cabin. They said that they could hold out no longer; that their tobacco was exhausted; that they had eaten up all the leather from the pumps, and even the buttons off their jackets; that now they had no means of averting the fate by which they were menaced, but by casting lots which of them should die to sustain the lives of the rest. They trusted, therefore, that the captain would concur in this proposal, and desired him immediately to favour them with his determination.

Captain Harrison observing they were in liquor, calmly endeavoured to divert them from their purpose; he requested that they would try to obtain

some rest, saying at the same time, that, if Providence did not interpose in their behalf, he would consult farther with them on the subject next morning.

This mild consideration only rendered the people more outrageous: they swore with execrations of peculiar horror, that what was to be done must be done immediately; that it was indifferent to them whether they obtained his acquiescence or the reverse: and although they had paid him the compliment of acquainting him with their resolution, they should compel him to take his chance with the rest; for general calamity, they said, put an end to all personal distinction.

The captain not being in a condition to resist their design, told them that they might do as they pleased, but that he would on no account give orders for putting to death the person on whom the lot might fall, nor would he partake of so horrid a repast.

• On this the people abruptly left him, and went into the steerage. In a few minutes they returned and informed him that they had taken a chance for their lives, and that the lot had fallen on the negro slave who was part of the cargo. •

The precipitation of the proceedings, and the privacy with which they had been conducted, excited strong suspicions in Captain Harrison that his crew had not dealt fairly by their intended victim. The poor wretch, aware of the result, and seeing one of the men loading a pistol, ran to the captain, with entreaties that he would endeavour to save his life. But he could only lament that he had no power to protect him; and the unfortunate man being instantly dragged into the steerage, was shot through the head.



He was scarce dead, when, having made a large fire, the people began to cut him up, intending to fry his entrails for supper; but one of the foremast men, named James Campbell, was so ravenously impatient, that, tearing the negro's liver from the body, he devoured it raw, though he might have dressed it in a few minutes. The principal part of the night was occupied in the meal, from which the people did not retire until two in the morning.

About eight o'clock next day the mate went to the captain to ask his orders about pickling the body; but the proposal was considered so shocking an instance of brutality, that he took up a pistol, and swore that if the mate did not withdraw he would send him after the negro. The captain thus refusing to give his advice, the crew, having consulted together, cut the body into small pieces, and pickled all but the head and fingers, which they threw overboard.

On the third day after the negro was butchered, Campbell, who had devoured his liver raw, died raving mad. This was imputed by the crew to his voracity; and as their hunger was now subdued, and some food being in store, they were more under the government of reason, especially owing to their apprehension of danger from the state of the ship. Therefore, dreading the consequence of subsisting on Campbell's body, they threw it overboard, though not without reluctance.

Next day, the 17th of January, while preparing part of the negro's corpse, by boiling or frying, for dinner, the people said of the captain, "Damn him, though he would not consent to our having any meat, let us give him some;" and immediately one of them came to his cabin and offered him a portion broiled.

The captain rejected the proffered meal both with resentment and menaces: he viewed it with horror; and sickness had taken away his appetite.

The body of the negro, with observance of the strictest economy, subsisted the crew, now consisting of six persons, from the 17th to the 26th of January, when they were once more reduced to total want. This being endured for three days, the mate again came to the captain, at the head of the people, telling him, that the body having been consumed some days, and no ship having come to their relief, it now became necessary to cast lots a second time. It was better, they said, to die separately than all at once, as possibly some might be preserved by their proposed expedient until a vessel should bring them succour.

The captain again endeavoured to bring them to reason, but without success: therefore, considering, that if they managed the lot without him, as they had done before, he himself might not have justice, he agreed to take the management. Thus calling all into his cabin, where he lay in bed, he with great difficulty raised himself, and caused the lots to be drawn in the same way as the chances are taken for lottery tickets.

The lot fell on one David Flat, a foremast man. But the shock which this produced was so great that the whole crew remained silent and motionless for a considerable time; and so they might have continued much longer, had not the victim, who appeared perfectly resigned to his fate, expressed himself in these words: "My dear friends, mess-mates, and fellow-sufferers, all I have to beg of you is, to dispatch me as soon as you did the negro, and to put me to as little torture as possible."

Then turning to one Doud, who shot the negro, he said, "It is my desire that you should shoot me." Doud readily, though reluctantly, consented.

The victim then solicited a short time to prepare for death, which his comrades most willingly granted. He was greatly beloved by all the ship's company; and during the interval they seemed inclined not to insist for his life. Yet, having no alternative but perishing along with him, and, by copious draughts of wine, having in some measure lulled their sense of horror at the approaching scene, they made preparations for its accomplishment. A fire was therefore kindled in the steerage, to dress a meal whenever they might make it on the body of their comrade.

Still as the awful moment drew nearer, their compunction increased, and friendship and humanity became predominant over hunger and impending death. They determined that Flat should live, at least, until eleven o'clock next morning; trusting, as they said, that Divine Goodness would, in the interval, open some other source of relief. At the same time, they solicited the captain to read prayers, a task, which collecting the utmost effort of his strength, he was just able to perform.

As soon as prayers were over, he lay down ready to faint, and the company immediately retired to their unfortunate friend Flat. The captain could overhear them talking with great earnestness and affection to him, and expressing their hope that God would interpose for his preservation. They assured him also, that although they had never yet been able to catch, or even to see a single fish, they would again put out all their hooks,



and try whether in that manner any relief could be obtained. But the unfortunate man could derive little comfort from their concern; the agitation produced on his mind was such, that before midnight he became almost deaf, and was raving mad by four in the morning.

His messmates on discovering this alteration, debated whether it would not be an act of humanity immediately to dispatch him, but their original resolution of sparing his life till eleven o'clock, prevailed.

About eight in the morning, as the captain was ruminating in his cabin on the fate of this unfortunate wretch who had only three hours to live, two of his people came hastily down with uncommon eagerness in their looks, and seizing both his hands, fixed their eyes upon him without saying a syllable. The captain recollecting that the people, notwithstanding their necessities, had thrown Campbell's body overboard, from apprehension of being struck with his madness, believed that, for the same reason, they were unwilling to eat Flat, and had come to put him to death in his stead. Therefore disengaging himself by a sudden effort, he snatched up a pistol and stood on the defensive. The poor men guessing his mistake, contrived to explain that their behaviour was merely the effect of surprise and joy, that they had discovered a sail, and were so overcome with the sight as to be unable to speak.

They said that the sail appeared to be a large vessel, that she was then to leeward, and stood for them in as fair a direction as could be wished. The rest of the crew came down immediately afterwards, and confirmed the report of a sail being



in sight, but added that she seemed to bear away from them, on a contrary course.

The account of a vessel being in sight of signals, on whatever course she steered struck the captain with such excessive and tumultuous joy, that he was very nearly expiring under its effects. As soon as he could speak, he directed his people to make every possible signal of distress, though their ship herself was a signal of the most striking description. But he was apprehensive that the strangers at a distance might conclude that there was nothing alive on board and go on their way without coming near him.

His orders were punctually obeyed, and while lying in his cabin he could hear them pouring on deck, and crying aloud, 'She is a ship! she is a ship! he is standing in the way!'

The approach of the ship being more and more manifest every moment, the hope of the crew naturally increased, and their joy at the prospect of deliverance, they remembered their unfortunate comrade Alas, and regretted that he could not be sensible of the like impressions. Nevertheless, they immediately proposed taking a can of liquor, which the captain strenuously opposed, and at length though with some difficulty convinced them that their deliverance in a great measure rested on the regularity of their conduct at that moment. The whole excepting the mate, therefore, relinquished the can, which would have rendered all absolutely intoxicated, before the vessel could come up, and he retired to take it by himself.

After watching the progress of the vessel during some hours, with all the tumult and agitation of mind that such a state of suspense could produce,

the people had the mortification to find the prevailing breeze totally die away, so that the vessel was entirely becalmed at the distance of two miles.

But they soon observed her boat put over the stern, and full manned, row towards them with vigorous dispatch. Having been twice before disappointed when confident of deliverance, and, as they still considered themselves tottering on the verge of eternity, the conflict they suffered during the approach of the boat, must be pictured in the reader's imagination, for it cannot be described.

At length, however, she came alongside; but the crew exhibited so ghastly an appearance, that the men rested on their oars, and, with looks of unexpressed astonishment, inquired what they were. When satisfied, they came on board, and requested this unfortunate company to make all possible expedition in quitting the wreck, lest they should be overtaken by a gale of wind, and prevented from regaining their own ship.

As the captain was incapable of moving, they lifted him out of his cabin, and, lowering him into the boat with ropes, he was followed by his people, among whom was poor Flat, still raving. Just when putting off, it was discovered that the mate was wanting; he was immediately summoned, and proved to have preserved, after his can of liquor, no more than ability to crawl to the gunwale, having, to all appearance, forgot every thing that had happened. The unfortunate drunken wretch being got down, the strangers rowed away to their own ship, which they reached in about an hour.

This vessel was the *Susannah* of London, commanded by Captain Thomas Evers, who was engaged in the Virginia trade, and was now returning from Virginia to London. He received the

people with all possible tenderness and humanity, and promised to lie by the wreck until morning, that he might, if possible, save some of Captain Harrison's clothes. But the wind blowing very hard, he was obliged to quit her before night, and, in all probability, she went to the bottom with her cargo.

The *Susannah* proceeded on her voyage, and, though in a very shattered condition, and so much reduced in provisions, that it was necessary to put her people on short allowance, she reached the Land's-End about the 2d of March. She thence proceeded to the Downs, and a day or two afterwards Captain Harrison reached London by land.

The mate, as also James Doud, who shot the negro, and one James Warren, a seaman, died during the passage. Lemuel Ashley, Samuel Wentworth, and David Flat, who was to have been shot for food, all survived. The last continued raving mad during the voyage, but whether he afterwards recovered, is not ascertained.

When Captain Harrison came on shore, he made an oath to the truth of the preceding melancholy facts, in order that the interests of his insurers might be preserved.

## LOSS OF THREE OF THE DUTCH FLEET IN GREENLAND, 1777.

THE ship *Wilhelmina*, commanded by Jacob Henry Broerties, of Zaandam, sailed from the Texel on the 14th of April 1777, for the whale-fishery. On the 22d of June she safely arrived at the vast moving icy coasts of Greenland, where the captain anchored, and commenced immediate preparations for fishing.

Fifty other ships had also repaired to the same region, which, at that time, attracted the greater notice, from the number of whales found there; and one was taken by the *Wilhelmina* the very day after her arrival.

On the 25th of April a great drift of ice surrounded the vessel, crushing against her on all sides. To avoid the dangerous consequences, the crew were obliged, during eight days and nights, without interruption, by the most laborious exertion, to saw the ice, which was thirteen feet thick, and thus endeavoured to keep the ship free.

Many vessels, anchored to the eastward of the same field of ice, were lucky enough to disengage themselves, and gain the open sea. But the *Wilhelmina*, along with twenty-seven others, remained fast in the ice. Seventeen of these were after-



wards able to make their way through it and escape.

On the 25th of July, the ice encompassing the *Wilhelmina* began to separate, and shew a kind of opening. The captain, immediately availing himself of it, ordered the boat out to tow the ship. By hard and constant rowing for four days, he reached another field of ice blocking up the way, and he was again enclosed in a small basin. There he found four ships, which had arrived under multiplied dangers and extreme difficulty, and without hopes of making any exit from it. They were commanded by Jeldert Janz de Groot, Claas Janz Castricum of Zaandam, Volkert Janz of Amsterdam, and Marten Janz of Hamburgh.

The alarming situation of the *Wilhelmina* discouraged the whole crew; and the north wind driving them constantly farther south, they came in sight of *Gale Hankens land*. The ice there affording no prospect of an outlet, the captain resolved to diminish the rations of provisions hitherto served out, and the crew were under the necessity of being satisfied with a very moderate allowance.

A strong gale from the north set in on the first of August, which crushed the ship to that degree, that the crew apprehended her destruction every moment; and scarcely durst they partake of that occasional repose which severe fatigue rendered indispensable. On the 16th other four ships arrived in the same regions in a state as dangerous as their own. These were commanded by Dirk Broer, Rælof Meyer, and Jacob Bremer of Amsterdam, and Ridmer Hendriks of Gottenburg. A great storm arose on the 19th. The fury of the wind dashed the pieces of ice against the ships with such extraordinary violence, that Volkert

Janz's vessel was grievously damaged. The *Wilhelmina* could swim, though almost crushed together about five or six feet above the ballast.

Shipwreck appeared inevitable on the 20th. A frightful hurricane yet blew from the same point, which materially injured those vessels that had hitherto escaped; that of Marten Janz was wrecked; and the ice continued accumulating to the height of twenty-four feet around the others. The *Wilhelmina*, after losing two boats, an anchor, and part of the rigging, drove against *Castricum's* ship, and her keel was soon upon the ice. Two ships of the five first arriving here, were now lost; *Castricum's* had sprung several leaks; and only the remaining two had not suffered very considerable damage. The crews of the wrecked vessels were distributed into these, and the whole provisions, as well as the different effects that could be saved next day, carried there also.

On the 25th of August the three vessels were immoveable in the ice. Their captains then dispatched twelve men to other four vessels which they saw at some distance in the like condition; and learned on their return, that two of the ships had been crushed together by the pressure of the ice, and that the other two remained in the most deplorable state. These messengers likewise related that two *Hamburgh* ships, a little farther away, had perished by the same means.

Although the vessels were all immoveable by hills of ice inclosing them, they had drove with the wind, and on the 24th of August *Iceland* was in sight. Two days afterwards there was some of the ice in motion, and Captains *Broer* and *Meyer* probably took advantage of it in gaining the open sea, as in four days they had disappeared from view.

Notwithstanding every instant threatened the destruction of the *Wilhelmina*, she was preserved until the 13th of September. That day a mountain of ice tumbled down with a thundering noise in a moment, and broke every thing about the ship to pieces. The accident was so sudden that the seamen in bed had not time to put on their clothes, and were forced to escape half naked on the surrounding ice, where they stood exposed to the most inclement weather. Scarce could they save a small quantity of provisions, for the ship was crushed together about ten feet above the level of the water, and then utterly destroyed and buried under an enormous heap of ice.

Captain De Groot's vessel had perished in the same manner on the 7th; whence the only receptacle for the shipwrecked mariners was Captain Castricum's vessel. With considerable trouble he had stopped all the leaks, and she was otherwise in good plight.

The seamen set out on the way to Castricum's ship; but the ice was not yet quite solid, and the fissures and gaps in the pieces dividing under their feet put them in hazard of a new shipwreck, whence they were under the necessity of returning. Then they resolved to erect a tent on the firm body of the ice, to shelter themselves, as far as might be, from the excessive cold; and next kindled a fire with fragments of the wreck, to do their best in this precarious asylum, where they remained expecting some extraordinary interposition of Providence. But the heat of the fire melting the ice filled the tent with water, and obliged them to cut holes here and there to receive it; for without such a precaution they would have been under the necessity of too often changing their abode.



A little rest obtained through the night re-animating the courage of these unfortunate mariners ; and in the morning they redoubled their exertions to reach Castricum's vessel. Therefore, setting out on the journey, and cheered by the sight of a pendant at the top-gallant mast-head, which shewed the vessel was clear of ice, they made incredible efforts.

The three shipwrecked captains, Broerties, De Groot, and Volkert Janz, marched at the head of their respective crews. They had a dangerous journey to perform, being forced to leap from one piece of ice to another, while it lasted, which was never done without imminent hazard of perishing.

On the first of October, when they believed their hardships at an end, they saw, on the contrary, that there was no chance of deliverance. The vessel was now in a more deplorable state than before ; she was carried to a considerable distance, and in danger of being overwhelmed by the pressure of the ice. However, they were at length taken into her. They had scarce arrived when they were followed by about fifty of the crew of a Hamburgh ship commanded by Hanz Christinanz. This vessel was wrecked on the 30th of September, and the harpooner, together with twelve seamen, lost in attempting to make Iceland on part of the wreck.

As nearly as could be conjectured, these mariners were in latitude  $64^{\circ}$ . Provisions now began to fail, for there were none except in Castricum's ship, infinitely too small a quantity for the whole that had taken refuge there. Thus they were soon entirely exhausted ; when the seamen were exposed to all the horrors of famine, being reduced to feed on the remnants of fish attached to the root of whale-bone.



The dogs belonging to the lost vessels were next killed and ate; and snow water, in which chips of wood had been infused, was drank to quench their thirst. All looked for a termination of their sufferings in death, when the ship, always drifting towards the coast, at last came within five or six miles of it. Several seamen made a fruitless endeavour to reach the continent, but could only make a desert island, where they gathered some small black berries from the bushes; and here they were under the necessity of remaining.

On the 10th of October a storm arose, which for several hours threatened the ship with destruction, but that day the crew were able to preserve her: On the morrow, however, she was crushed by enormous pieces of ice, and then buried under them. The suddenness of the disaster prevented the crew from saving any fuel from the vessel; but they got some portions of sails on the first alarm, and eleven boats. These precautions proved vain; for they were forced to seek for safety in flight. Therefore, leaping from one portion of ice to another, they tried to find a solid place of sufficient extent to contain the whole. With incredible labour, they at length gained one of that description, and fortunately were able also to carry thither the scanty provisions that had been saved.

The deplorable condition of these unfortunate mariners is indescribable: exposed to the most intense cold, on an immense island of ice, which might the first moment crumble down and crush them to atoms, almost destitute of food and clothing: What prospect could they have but dying of cold and hunger, or of being buried among the ice? Such was their melancholy condition in the most rigorous climate in the universe.

It is in the last extremity only that man is deserted by hope : these mariners, now indefatigable, hastily prepared two miserable tents with the pieces of sail they had secured, and sheltered themselves in them, such as they were, patiently abiding the will of Providence. But it was impossible to remain beyond the 13th of October, for they were still every moment threatened with being destroyed among the ice, for the field bearing them was continually drifting. Thus two hundred and thirty resolved attempting another voyage to reach the continent, Twenty-six considering it impracticable, preferred staying behind.

The adventurers entertaining different sentiments with respect to the route, separated into several parties. We shall follow them step by step, because the course they took through this desert region may serve as a future guide to those in similar circumstances; such deplorable accidents being but too frequent in the polar seas.

Captain Jeldert Janz, de Groot, Hanz Christiaan, and Martin Janz, departed on the 13th of October, followed by forty seamen. Each had thirteen biscuit for his whole provision. After a short, though distressing journey, they arrived on the shore of an island, into which they advanced, and passed the night. Next day they indulged the deceitful prospect of gaining the continent; but they found nothing except an immense floating marsh at some distance from it. There it surprised them to see some inhabitants; and several of the men fortunately understanding a few words of the language, demanded their assistance. Although savages are generally believed to be inhospitable, it was otherwise here; they were eager to succour their visitors; they carried them in canoes to their

huts, and served them with dried fish, the flesh of seals, and vegetables, to assuage their hunger.

The adventurers spent several days with their benefactors; then that they might not infringe their hospitality by consuming their winter stores, they resumed their journey, trusting to find some Danish colony that might relieve their necessities. During a painful journey they passed through different tribes of Greenlanders, by some of whom they were well received, but maltreated by others, and oftener than once exposed to die of hunger and thirst. A little moss, scraped from under the snow, and the raw flesh of the dogs that they killed, added to a few which were luckily caught, formed their entire sustenance. At last, after every description of accident and fatigue, that can be figured, they arrived on the 13th of March, at *Friederikshaab*, a Danish settlement, where they were generously treated. All possible aid was given them, and having staid long enough for the re-establishment of health, they embarked for Denmark, from whence they safely arrived in Holland.

Captain Casticum, Broerties, and the others, who had taken a northerly direction, along with the greater part of the crew, experienced the same distress. All reached *Friederikshaab* likewise, except Broerties, who died by the way.

Those of their companions in misfortune, who could not resolve to follow them, had kept a boat, tent, and a small quantity of provision. The field on which they remained drifted towards Staaten Point. It could hardly support them longer; for the sea was rough, and the field gradually decreased in size, until they were in danger of being swallowed up. But the wind luckily shifting to the north-west, they easily made the land. On the

6th of October, a boat which Castricum's crew had abandoned, was found with one man in it, who, unable to accompany the rest, expected certain death. On the same day, they were joined by two of their messmates, who were left behind; and who had been obliged to forsake an old man on the extremity of a field of ice, where, doubtless, he perished.

The shipwrecked mariners now united, were still the sport of the sea, before they could reach the continent of Greenland. In that region they were hospitably entertained by the hordes of savages, who shared their scanty stores along with them. At length they came to the Danish settlements, little better provisioned, but which, nevertheless, received them with equal hospitality. At Holsteinberg, which is one in lat. 67°, they understood that a vessel belonging to the king of Denmark lay at anchor two miles from shore. She had had brought stores, and proposed first to winter there, and then to engage next year in the fishery, previous to returning home. The seamen sought employment on board, and after a successful voyage, they were carried to Denmark, and thence obtained a passage to Holland.

It was computed that the crew of the three ships thus lost in the ice, amounted to 450 men; of whom only 140 were saved, and these experienced the dangers and sufferings inseparable from shipwreck.



## WRECK OF THE BRIGANTINE

ST LAWRENCE, ON THE ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON,  
5TH DECEMBER 1780. BY S. W. PRENTIES, EN-  
SIGN OF THE 84TH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

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“ ON the 17th of November 1780, being charged with dispatches from General Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, I embarked in the St Lawrence brigantine, lying in the bason of Quebec, and then bound to New-York. We dropped down the same day on receiving sailing orders to the harbour in the island of Orleans, called St Patrick's Hole, in company with a schooner bound to the same port. On board of her was Ensign Drummond, of the 44th regiment, who carried duplicates of General Haldimand's dispatches. Here we were detained six days by a contrary wind, at the expiry of which time, the frost had set in with great severity, and the ice was forming fast in all parts of the river St Lawrence.

On the 24th, the wind being fair, we got under weigh, and proceeded down the river to the islands called the Brandy Pots, about forty leagues from Quebec, where it shifting to the north-east obliged us to cast anchor. The weather continued intensely cold, and the vessel was so leaky as to require one pump constantly going.

A change of wind soon enabled us to prosecute

our voyage, and to make the island of Anticosti, which is at the mouth of the river St Lawrence, when the wind, again coming round to the eastward, we were obliged to beat off and on between this island and Cape Roziere four days. The leaks of our vessel at the same time increased to such a degree, that we were under the necessity of rigging her other pump, and keeping both constantly at work.

As we were now in a higher latitude, the ice began to form so fast about the ship, that it alarmed us exceedingly, lest we should be entirely surrounded, which we prevented only by cutting and breaking vast quantities from her sides. To this task, however, added to that of keeping the pumps going, the crew, together with the passengers, were scarcely equal; for there were no more than nineteen persons on board, six of whom were passengers, and the remainder very indifferent seamen. As for the master of the vessel, from whom, in such an emergency, we might have expected some exertion, he, instead of attending to his duty, remained in a constant state of intoxication in his cabin.

On the 29th the wind came round to the westward, and we proceeded down the Gulf of St Lawrence, with two feet water in the hold. The wind gradually increased until the first of December, when it blew a perfect gale. The crew, almost totally overcome with cold and fatigue, and seeing no prospect of gaining on the leak, there being now four feet water in the hold, and despairing of making any port, resolved to work no longer at the pumps; to which the whole foremast men unanimously agreed.

The seamen accordingly left off working, and

declared themselves quite indifferent about their fate, preferring the alternative of going to the bottom with the vessel, to that of suffering such severe and incessant labour, in a situation so desperate. Their fatigues, from the 17th of November, had truly been excessive, and, though some hope might still remain, our present circumstances were such as to exclude all probability, at least, of saving the vessel. However, by the means of persuasion and promises, together with the timely distribution of a pint of wine per man, which I had fortunately brought on board, they were diverted from this destructive resolution, but with great reluctance. They said, that, whether the vessel filled or not, was a matter of no consequence.

The delay, although not exceeding a quarter of an hour, allowed the water in the hold to rise another foot; but the men, encouraged by the wine, which was issued to them every half hour, increased their exertions, and succeeded so far as, in two hours, to reduce the water to less than three feet. The captain still remained in his cabin.

During the 2d and 3d of December, the gale seemed rather to augment than diminish, and the ice formed so thick on the ship's sides, as very much to impede her way through the water. This furnished a new source of labour, in cutting it off with saws and axes as fast as it formed; and the leak continued to gain on us besides.

The schooner which was in company, far from being able to afford any assistance, was in as badly a condition as our own vessel, having struck on some rocks at the island of Coudres, owing to the ignorance or neglect of her pilot. A heavy snow beginning to fall, it was with the utmost dif-

difficulty that we could get sight of each other, though at no great distance; and, in order not to part company, fired a gun every half hour. At length the schooner made no answer to our guns, whence we concluded she had foundered. Sixteen persons were on board, every one of whom perished.

The gale increased prodigiously on the following day, and the sea began to run high; there was also such a heavy fall of snow, as to prevent our seeing twenty yards ahead of the vessel. From the excessive fatigue of the men, the water in the hold had risen to its usual height of between four and five feet.

The mate, an intelligent young man, and well acquainted with his profession, judged, from the distance we had run, that we could not be far from the Magdalen Islands, which lie about midway in the Gulf of St Lawrence. These islands are only a cluster of rocks, partly above, and partly hidden under water, which have been fatal to many vessels. In fine weather seamen wish to make them, as they serve to take a new departure; but in foggy, or blowing weather, they studiously avoid them. The mate's conjecture now proved too well founded, for, in less than two hours, we heard the sea breaking on the rocks, and soon after discovered the principal island, called the Deadman, close under our lee. With the greatest difficulty we weathered the point of it, and, even after that, we were far from thinking ourselves secure; for the snow falling so thick as to prevent us from seeing many yards ahead of the vessel, and being in the midst of the small islands, there appeared little probability of our clearing them all in the same manner.



Being unable to distinguish any one in particular, in sufficient time to avoid it, we were obliged to leave the vessel to the guidance of Providence, and fortunately, I may almost say miraculously, we ran through the whole uninjured. The anxiety and perturbation, both of the crew and passengers, while amidst these rocks, were very great; but now, that the danger was over, it turned out a fortunate occurrence; for the sailors being ready to sink by this time under the accumulated distresses of cold and fatigue, and depressed by the little hope they had of saving the vessel, had nearly determined again to quit the pumps and abandon her to fate. But, acquiring fresh spirits from the danger they had escaped, and ascribing it to the immediate interposition of Providence, they consented to continue their exertions somewhat longer. To this they were materially influenced by the occasional distribution of wine among them.

During the night the gale continuing, and the sea running very high, we were apprehensive of being pooped, which is the stern or poop being beat in by the waves. In fact, our dread was realized, for, about five in the morning of the 5th, a heavy sea broke on the ship's quarter, which stove in our dead lights, filled the cabin, and washed the master out of his bed, where he had remained ever since the commencement of the storm.

This accident was attended with more serious consequences than we had at first apprehended, for we soon discovered, from the increase of the leaks, that the stern-post had been started by the impulse of the sea. Having nothing in the afterhold, no other resource was left but that of attempting to stop the leaks with beef, which we cut into

small pieces for the purpose. But we found it an ineffectual expedient, and the water continued to gain on us faster than ever.

The sailors, finding all their labours fruitless, and the leak which before was constantly increasing, rendered irreparable by this misfortune, abandoned themselves totally to despair, and again refused to stand by the pumps. They had not long remained inactive, however, before we contrived once more to persuade them to make another effort to clear the vessel, when, to our great consternation, we found the pumps so completely frozen up, that it was impossible to move them.

All endeavours to keep the vessel free were unavailing, and she, in a very short time, filled to the water's edge. The smallest ray of hope being now at end, we resigned ourselves, with as much fortitude as possible, to our approaching fate, expecting every instant to go to the bottom.

Nevertheless, when the vessel was quite full, we remarked that she was very little deeper in the water than before; and then recollecting a circumstance which our trouble and confusion had almost obliterated, namely, that we had a quantity of lumber on board, we immediately accounted for her not sinking beyond a certain depth in the water. The hopes of saving our lives were renewed, if we could but prevent the vessel from upsetting until we could make the Island of St John, or some other island in the gulf.

Having no guns on deck, and not much lumber there to render her top heavy, we contrived to prevent her from oversetting, by steering directly before the wind, though not without some difficulty, because, from the little way she made through the water, the waves frequently washed clean over

the decks. Besides taking care to keep the vessel steady, we used every precaution to secure our boat from being washed away, for losing her, in our present circumstances, would be a dreadful misfortune. The cabin, being raised above the level of the main-deck, was tolerably clear of water, and afforded us some little shelter from the severity of the weather. Thither we retired, leaving only one man at the helm, who was fastened with a rope, to prevent his being carried away by the waves, which, at times, made a free passage over us.

The violence of the gale still continued without intermission, and the snow, at the same time, fell so thick, that we were unable to see to the mast-head. From the distance we had run, we knew that we could not be far from land, and the captain imagined, from the course during the night, and since the ship filled in the morning, that we must be near the Island of St John's, which lies between the Magdalen Islands and the Gut of Canso. We thence entertained further hopes of saving our lives, in case we could run ashore on some sandy part of it, until they were damped by his adding, that the north-east side of the island was nothing but a continued reef of rocks from one end to the other, and that there was but a single harbour where ships could put in, and this, he recollected, was on the opposite side of the island.

In a few hours after, we observed that the waves grew shorter, and broke higher, which is always found to be the case on approaching towards the shore; likewise, there was a number of gulls and ducks flying about, an additional sign that we could not be far from it.

We now concluded that we were about to run

on the rocks, which the captain informed us skirted the north-east side of the island. On approaching the land we suffered greater dread and apprehension than amidst all the dangers we had previously experienced; the idea of being cast on such tremendous rocks being more terrifying than that of being, as our companions had been, buried in the bosom of the ocean.

The ship had still considerable way through the water, with no other sail set but a close-reefed fore topsail, which was the only one we could display, and the canvas being new, it had hitherto stood the storm. The captain, to keep her off the land, proposed bringing the ship to, which I, as well as the mate, opposed, urging the probability that we should upset her in the attempt; and, moreover, that should we be able to effect it, she must, after all, drive ashore; because, in her present state, it was impossible to make any way to windward. Our opinion was rejected, however, and an attempt made to brace about the fore-yard, which was found impracticable, from the ropes and blocks being covered with ice; we were therefore obliged to let it remain as before; and the colour of the water having suddenly changed, we expected the vessel to strike every instant. Feeble as our expectations were of saving our lives, I thought it incumbent on me to take every precaution to preserve the dispatches with which I was charged. Thus I ordered my servant to open my trunks and collect all the letters they contained, which I put into a handkerchief, and fastened it about my waist. He at the same time offered me the money that he found in the trunks, amounting to 150 guineas, which I desired him to dispose of as he thought proper, thinking it, in this emergen-



cy, rather an incumbrance than worthy of preservation. My servant thought otherwise, and took care to secure it.

The weather continued thick as usual, until about one o'clock, when suddenly clearing up, we discovered the land at about three leagues distance. This sight gave us no inconsiderable satisfaction, taking it at first for the Island of St John's, where we might have expected some assistance from the French and English families inhabiting it. But, on a nearer view, we found from plans that we had on board, that it had not the least similarity, no such mountains and precipices being laid down as these we discovered. On drawing nearer, we observed the sea break high, and present a very dismal appearance, about three miles from land. As it was necessary for us to pass through these breakers before gaining the shore, we expected that our fate would be determined there. But contrary to expectation, there was such a depth of water that the vessel went over the reef, and did not touch, though shipping many heavy seas, which, had not her timbers been strong, and her lading light, must infallibly have beat her to pieces.

The land now began to have a dreadful appearance, seeming, from our distance, to be high and rocky; but on approaching within a mile, we had the pleasure of descrying a fine sandy beach, and a bold shore. Though the sea ran high, it was less so than on the reef which we had already passed. As we advanced, the water continued deep beyond our most sanguine wishes, so much so, as to allow us to come within fifty or sixty yards of the beach before we struck. Now was the time for the apprehension of every man to be

on the rack, as we might expect, on touching the shore, that the ship would go to pieces. At length she grounded with a violent concussion. On the first stroke, the mainmast started out of the step, and on the second the foremast. Neither of these, however, fell over the side, the deal boards in the hold being stowed so close together, that the masts had no room to play below. At the same time the rudder was unshipped, with such violence as to be very near killing one of the sailors. As soon as the ship had grounded, the sea began to break over her in every part, each wave lifting her four or five feet nearer the shore. In a little while the stern was beat in by the sea, and then, having no shelter in the cabin, we were obliged to go upon deck, and hang by the shrouds, lest we should be washed overboard.

In this uncomfortable situation, we remained until the ship was beat up so high by the waves that we could venture to walk upon deck. We now perceived that her keel was broken, which, we imagined, would occasion her going to pieces; however, that did not immediately happen, which I attributed to the boards in the hold being so interwoven with each other, and frozen together by the ice, as to give a degree of solidity to the whole vessel.

Our first care was now to get out the boat, which was not to be accomplished without much difficulty, on account of the quantity of ice both in and about it, and our reduction in the number of effective hands, by the intoxication of several of the crew, who considered that the most effectual way of relieving their apprehensions. From the violence of the waves dashing against her, our vessel had broached to, with her broadside to the wind,

so that she afforded some shelter for the boat to the leeward. Having, with great labour, cleared the boat from the ice, and prepared her for launching, I ordered some liquor to be distributed to those who were yet sober, and then asked if any were willing to embark with me, and attempt to gain the shore. The sea running so high, that it appeared scarcely possible for the boat to live a minute, very few were inclined to hazard an experiment full of danger, insomuch, that all offering themselves were the mate and two sailors, together with my servant and a boy, who was a passenger on board.

What created the greatest embarrassment to our undertaking, was the surf breaking over us every moment, and the intenseness of the cold, which immediately froze every drop of water so as to cover our clothes with a sheet of ice. At length we got the boat into the water, and, having thrown an axe and a saw into her, I leaped in, followed by my servant and the mate. The boy, springing short, fell into the water; however, we contrived, as he did not sink, to drag him into the boat, though not without difficulty, for our fingers were so benumbed that we could hardly use them. But the chill given to the unfortunate youth, he never recovered. The two sailors who had agreed to accompany us, next leapt into the boat, and, notwithstanding the former hesitation of the rest, all seemed ready to follow their example. I thence found it necessary to shove her off from the ship's side, for, being very small, she certainly would have sunk had so many persons crowded in together. The ship was lying about forty yards from the shore, but, before the boat got half way to it, we

were overtaken by a wave, which almost filled her, and the next drove us on the dry sand.

To find ourselves once more on the land gave us no small satisfaction, spite of our destitute condition. The joy which we felt at having escaped those dangers which had so long been the chief objects of our dread, made us, for a few moments, forget that we were snatched from them merely to be exposed to others more inevitable, and that we had escaped one species of death, probably to undergo another more lingering and painful. What most affected us, was the distress of our companions remaining behind, whose lamentations and cries for help we could very distinctly hear. But it was impossible for us, however anxious, to afford them any assistance; our boat being beat high upon the sand, could now be of no use either to us or them, while the sea was running so high as to preclude all human aid.

The night was now approaching, and we had not remained long in this situation before we felt ourselves growing stiff with cold. The gale continuing equally severe as ever, we were obliged with extreme difficulty to wade up to our waists, in snow, to the shelter of a thick wood about two hundred and fifty yards from the beach, which afforded some relief from the piercing wind; but a fire was still wanting. We had taken the precaution, indeed, to put a tinder box in the boat, but the water had rendered it entirely useless; therefore we had no resource but exercise. Better acquainted with the nature of cold climates than any of my companions, I recommended to them to move about: my advice was strictly adhered to for about half an hour, when the young passenger, already mentioned, overcome with the severity of



the weather, threw himself down to sleep. Extreme cold is always accompanied with a soporific inclination, which it is not easy to resist. I used my utmost endeavours, both by persuasion and constraint, to rouse him, and make him stand on his legs, but all to no purpose, so that I was forced to desist. After walking about half an hour longer, during which my desire to sleep was so strong, that a sense of the fatal consequences alone restrained me from lying down, I went to the place where the boy lay. Putting my hand on his face, and finding it quite cold, I said to the mate, who was close by, that I believed he was dead: to which the youth immediately answered, that he was not yet dead, but should be so very shortly; and requested that I would write to his father at New York, if I survived, and inform him of the circumstances of his son's misfortune: in about ten minutes we found that he had expired, and, as I imagine, without any pain whatever, or at least any acute sensation of it.

The death of the boy could not deter the rest of my fellow sufferers from giving way to this drowsy sensation, and three of them lay down, spite of repeated exhortations to the contrary. Finding it impossible to keep them on their legs, I broke off a branch, and desiring the mate to do the same, our employment during the remainder of the night was to prevent them from sleeping, by beating them continually with the branches. This was an exercise useful to ourselves, at the same time that it preserved the lives of our companions. Day light, for which we looked with such anxious expectations, at length appeared, when I desired the men to pull down their stockings and let me examine their legs, as they observed they had no feeling in

them. Whenever I beheld them, I clearly saw that they were frozen at least half way up, and desired that they should be immediately rubbed with snow, which was done for a considerable time, but to little purpose, as it was impossible to restore them to feeling.

On going to the beach along with the mate, we found, to our great satisfaction, that the ship had not yet gone to pieces, though the wind continued with unabating severity. My first study now was how to get the rest of the people ashore, because our own safety, as well as theirs, alike depended on it. Though almost stiff with cold, I retained feeling in every part, whence I was certain that I could not be frozen.

What seemed greatly to favour the undertaking was, the vessel having beat so much nearer the shore, that only a very small distance intervened at low water. It was high flood when we arrived at the beach; therefore, waiting until the tide was out, we advised the people on board to fasten a rope to the jib-boom, by which they might swing themselves one by one ashore. Accordingly they adopted this expedient, and by watching the motion of the sea, and seizing the opportunity of swinging themselves ashore as the waves retired, all got safe to land, except a carpenter, who was a passenger. Having dealt rather too liberally with liquor the night before, he was either intimidated, or unable to venture.

Fortunately the captain had put some materials for striking a light in his pocket before he left the ship: we therefore went to work in cutting wood and gathering the branches that lay scattered on the ground, of which we made a fire with all expedition, and were happy for some time in hover-

ing about it and warming our benumbed limbs. Considering the extreme cold which we had endured for such a length of time, no luxury could be equal to that of a fire; but this gratification was, like many others, to several of my companions followed by the most excruciating pains, when the parts began to thaw. Different parts of the members of some of those who had remained all night in the ship, as well as those who came ashore with me in the boat, had been frozen. The distress now painted in the faces of these unfortunate men, from the torture they underwent, is beyond expression: this I knew would be case before I heard them complain, but as there was no remedy, I thought it unnecessary to give them any intimation of it.

On examining into our numbers, I observed that Captain Green, a passenger, was missing, and was informed that, having fallen asleep on board, he had been frozen to death. We had hopes, however, of saving the man yet remaining, which, from the approach of night, we were obliged to defer until the following day. Notwithstanding the comfort of a good fire, we found extreme inconvenience from the total want of covering; and we also began to suffer hunger, a new misery, with which we had hitherto been unacquainted. The greater part of our number were, besides, in a most wretched state from sores occasioned by the frost.

In the morning, as many of us as were able repaired to the beach, to devise some means to extricate the carpenter, whose voice we heard on board the vessel. But the sea still running with the same violence as before, the boat could not be put out to his assistance: thus we were obliged to wait till low water, when we persuaded him to

come on shore as the others had done. This he accomplished with much difficulty, being very weak, and different parts of his limbs frozen.

We yet remained without any kind of nourishment, whence our strength began to decline.

The gale continued as boisterous as ever on the seventh and eighth, and between it and next morning the ship went to pieces from the stern to the main-mast, owing to the extreme violence of the sea breaking against her. By this part of her breaking up, some provisions washed on shore, consisting of salt beef: fresh meat hung over the stern, and a quantity of onions. It being now the fourth day since we had ate any kind of provision whatever, these articles proved a seasonable relief. Though wanting utensils, we dressed our meat in the best manner we could, and made what we thought a most delicious repast.

The sense of hunger assuaged, we prepared to collect all the provisions we could find scattered on the beach, apprehensive that we should not soon get a supply from any other quarter. Our next care was to provide some kind of shelter, which was no easy task, as so many of our company were unable to move, and none but the mate and myself capable of active exertion. Our number also was reduced to seventeen. However, a quantity of deals having floated ashore, we carried about two hundred and fifty into the wood, and by ten at night had completed a kind of house about twenty feet long and ten feet wide.

This finished, we examined into the state of the provisions, and had the satisfaction to find that we had between two and three hundred pounds of salt beef, and a considerable stock of onions. Economy being indispensable from the uncertainty of



procuring any addition, we resolved that each man, whether sick or well, should be restricted to a quarter of a pound of beef per day, and four onions, so long as the latter should last.

On the eleventh of December, being the sixth day after we landed, the gale abated, and gave us an opportunity of launching our boat and getting on board of the wreck. Having, with great labour, cleared the boat of the sand and ice, three of us embarked. It took us a whole day to open the hatches, for we had only one axe, and the cables were frozen over them in a solid lump of ice. Next day, the weather continuing moderate, we again went on board; and having cleared away the remainder of the cable, we cut up part of the deck, in order to get out two casks of onions, with a small barrel of beef, containing about one hundred and twenty pounds, and three barrels of apples, shipped by a Jewish merchant of Quebec. We likewise found a quarter cask of potatoes, a bottle of oil, which proved very serviceable to the men's sores, another axe, a large iron pot, two camp kettles, and about twelve pounds of candles. We contrived, with hard labour, to get this great supply on shore.

On the thirteenth, we occupied ourselves in getting the provisions stowed away in a corner of the hut, when, on opening the apple casks, we found their contents, to our great surprise, converted into bottles of Canadian balsam, a more valuable commodity than apples, to be sure, but what, in our present situation, we could gladly have exchanged for a better sedative of hunger. This disappointment, as may be supposed, extorted a few hearty good wishes towards the Jew. Yet we afterwards found use for his balsam.

Next day we were enabled, from such a supply, to add four onions to our daily allowance. Going on board we cut as much of the sails as possible from the bowsprit, with part of which we covered our hut, and rendered it tolerably warm and comfortable, notwithstanding the rigour of the weather.

By this time the sores of the men who had been frost-bit began to mortify, which caused their toes, fingers, and other portions of the members affected, to rot off: the anguish of this was almost insupportable. The carpenter, who came on shore after the others, had lost the greater part of his feet, and at night, on the fourteenth, became delirious, in which state he continued until the following day, when death released him from his miserable existence. We covered his body with snow and branches of trees, for we had neither spade nor pick-axe to dig a grave; and even had we been provided with them, the ground was impenetrable from the frost.

Three days afterwards, our second mate died in the same manner, having been delirious for some hours before he expired. We felt but very little concern at the death of our companions, either on their account or our own; for, in the first place, we judged it rather a happiness than a misfortune to be deprived of life in such a wretched situation; and, secondly, because there became the fewer mouths to consume our little stock of provisions. Indeed, had not some paid the debt of nature, we should have been reduced to the shocking necessity of killing and devouring one another.

Though not yet reduced to this necessity, our condition was so miserable that it seemed scarcely possible for any supervening distress sensibly to

augment it. Besides the prospect of perishing through want in a desolate place, and the pain arising from a perpetual sense of hunger and cold, the agony which most of us suffered from the sores, occasioned by the frost, was beyond expression, while the groans of the afflicted were almost equally distressing to the remainder. But what affected me more than all our other miseries was the quantity of vermin proceeding from the men's sores, and continually increasing, which infested us in every part, and rendered us disgusting even to ourselves. Several, however, who had been only slightly frozen, recovered in a short time, with the loss of a few toes and fingers, no one having entirely escaped the frost but myself.

On the 20th another sailor died, after having been, like the others, some time in a delirious state, and was buried, or rather covered, in the same manner. Our number was thus reduced to fourteen persons, yet we did not think it prudent to enlarge the allowance of provisions, but still kept to the rate originally fixed on, of a quarter of a pound of beef daily.

About a fortnight after being established in the hut, the mate and myself availed ourselves of a very fine day, to walk ten or twelve miles up a river on the ice. There we observed many tracks of moose deer, and other animals, which, had we been provided with fire-arms, we might have killed. We fell in with a wigwam, and found the skin of a moose deer hanging across a pole; there were, likewise, several trees cut on one side, as appeared, by an axe; but we travelled still a considerable way farther to no purpose, in hopes of discovering inhabitants. It was likely, however, as they had been lately there, that they

would return ; therefore I cut a long pole, and next with my knife, which I always took care to preserve, as it was the only one among us, cut a piece of birch bark into the shape of a hand, with the fore-finger extended, and pointing towards our residence. We then returned, and our companions, yet unable to move, derived great satisfaction from our relation.

Twenty days having elapsed since our shipwreck, our provisions being very much reduced, I began to entertain a suspicion of some foul play during different times of my absence from the hut in search of inhabitants. Thus I determined, by keeping constant watch at night, to find out the depredators, who proved no other than the captain and two sailors. In so short a space of time, they had not consumed less than seventy pounds of beef, besides a quantity of onions. To prevent such unfair practices in future, the mate and I never went out together, one of us remaining constantly in the hut.

After some days, we relinquished all hopes of seeing any Indians or inhabitants here, and having provisions only for six weeks longer, I proposed taking as many as could work in the boat to search for inhabitants. This proposal was unanimously agreed to, but on thinking how it was to be put in execution, a difficulty arose, namely, repairing the boat, which the sea had beat in such a manner on the beach, that every seam was open. We had no pitch, however, and dry oakum would not answer the purpose of stopping them. But we boiled a quantity of the Canadian balsam in the iron kettle, and frequently taking it off the fire to cool soon brought it to a proper consistence. A sufficient quantity being prepared, we turned up



the boat, and having cleaned her bottom, gave her a coat of the balsam, which effectually stopped up all crevices for the present. This done, we got a small sail rigged to a mast, which shipped and unshipped at pleasure; and I then pitched upon the persons who were to accompany me on the excursion.

By the first of January, with much difficulty, we got our boat into tolerable condition, so that she could swim without making much water. We also got our mast and sail rigged in case we should have a fair wind, which was rarely to be expected, as it almost constantly blew directly on the land. We had agreed to take six people on board, namely, the captain and mate, two sailors, myself and servant; none of the others were so far recovered that we thought them able to join in the expedition. Our shoes being all nearly wore out, my employment next day was making a pair of Indian shoes of canvas. My needle was the handle of a pewter spoon, which I had contrived to fashion as well as I could for the purpose, and the same canvas supplied me with thread. As soon as I had made twelve pair, which was two for each man of the party, we divided the remaining provisions into fourteen parts, which admitted only of a quarter of a pound of beef per day for six weeks; those who were to stay behind, sharing as much as we, who were to go in the boat, notwithstanding the great fatigue which we had every reason to expect.

The wind continued adverse until the fourth, by which time prodigious quantities of ice floating on the coast, and in some places blocking up the bays, rendered our enterprise extremely hazardous; yet it was better to encounter any hard,

ship, than to stay here with the certainty of starving. On the afternoon of this day, having taken leave of our companions, we set off.

When about eight miles distant, the wind rising, threatened to blow us out to sea; however, by dint of rowing, we got into a bay a mile ahead, where we hauled up our boat as high as our strength permitted, and passed the night. We cut wood, and with branches made a kind of a wigwam to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather.

Having observed some pieces of wood cast on shore, that had formerly been cut with an axe, and a number of long poles, I thought it likely that inhabitants might be near at hand. I therefore set out towards a high point of land, with two of the men; and before proceeding a mile, saw the remains of a Newfoundland fishing boat, almost covered with sand. This encouraged us with the hopes of discovering something more, and we proceeded as fast as we could to the height. From the top we descried, to our inexpressible joy, a few houses about half a mile distant. Thither we directed our course, entertaining no doubt that we should now meet relief; but on coming up to them, we found, to our great disappointment, that they were only the remains of old storerooms, built for curing fish, and had apparently been abandoned many years. Observing a number of old casks lying about in different places, we searched them narrowly in hopes of finding some provisions, but in vain. Walking along the point, we gathered about a quart of cranberries, part of which we ate, and reserved the rest for our companions. We then returned, after reconnoitring all the point; and although finding nothing more, we derived much satisfaction from what we had seen, as it

confirmed our hopes of meeting inhabitants in the course of the voyage along the coast.

Meantime the wind came round to the north-west, and blew with such violence, as to prevent us from proceeding. It continued thus two days ; when happening to get up in the middle of the night, I was astonished on observing, that while the wind continued blowing as hard as ever, the sea was entirely without agitation. I immediately awoke the mate to inform him of this phenomenon ; and going down to the beach together to learn the cause, we found the sea totally covered with ice, nothing but a large sheet of it being visible for leagues around. This was an alarming circumstance, as it seemed to preclude all possibility of our escaping farther, and might even occasion regret at having left our habitation ; for though we were so near, it was impossible to return by land, besides other impediments, on account of the depth of the snow, which was impassable, unless with snow shoes.

The wind continued still two days longer from the same quarter. At length it became perfectly calm on the ninth ; and on the following morning, blowing off the land, not a piece of ice was to be seen by four in the afternoon, the whole being blown out to sea. Though this afforded the prospect of deliverance from our dreary situation, the strength of the gale prevented us from moving until the eleventh. We then launched the boat with much difficulty, because our strength was greatly reduced for want of nourishment. We made tolerable way before the wind, and soon descried an extremely high point, about seven leagues ahead, with a continued precipice along the coast, which rendered it impossible to land before reaching this

cape. The passage thither was dangerous, for should the wind change, we must infallibly be dashed to pieces on the rocks. But danger was no longer an object of consideration; so we got out two oars, not being able to use any more, as the boat was so much damaged as to require two men constantly baling the water out of her. About eleven at night we made the headland; but finding no landing place, we were obliged to keep along the coast, until two in the morning, when the wind increasing, and a stony beach appearing, we thought it expedient to land. We got out our provisions, but the steepness of the bank rendered it impossible to haul up the boat, therefore we left her to the mercy of the sea.

This was a beach about four hundred yards long, and at the distance of fifty yards from the water's edge, bounded by a precipice at least one hundred feet high, which inclosed it on all sides.

On the thirteenth, the wind blowing from the sea, our boat was drove twenty yards higher than where we left her, and several holes beat in her bottom. We were in a most miserable situation; the height of the enclosing precipice prevented us from seeking shelter in the woods; and having so little covering, and no firing, except some pieces of timber accidentally floating ashore, we could but just keep ourselves from absolute freezing.

The same weather continued eight days, attended with a prodigious fall of snow, a circumstance which added to our other inconveniences. At length the weather became more moderate on the twenty-first, and the snow ceased, after having fallen, in the course of the preceding week, to the depth of three feet. We thus gained an opportunity of cooking our provisions, which we had done



but once since our landing. Even this was a great loss to us, as the water in which the meat was boiled, afforded almost as much nourishment as the meat itself.

Next day we contrived, with great labour, to turn our boat half way over to examine the damage she had received. It proved considerable; the coat of balsam was entirely rubbed off, and there were some holes in her bottom. We expected that the ice would go to sea, as it had done once before, whenever the wind should come round to the southward; and therefore thought if we could but repair the boat, that we might still have some chance of meeting with inhabitants. But the chief difficulty was how to repair it, for we had no pitch or balsam left, and but little dry oakum, which, without the former, was of no service. After devising various expedients, we, at length, gave it up as a thing impracticable, and began to turn our thoughts towards some other means of getting out of this bleak and barren place, to search for relief in an inhabited country.

Though it was impossible to climb the precipice surrounding us, we thought that by walking along the ice, which had yet strength to bear our weight, we might get into the woods. Accordingly the mate and I set out to walk a few miles as an experiment. We did not go far before reaching the mouth of a river, and a fine sandy beach, where had our good fortune directed us to land, we might have lived more comfortably, and preserved our boat. But what was to be done, now that we could get into the woods. Ignorant of the way, we could not think to cross them in search of a cultivated country, besides it was impossible to traverse the snow, which had now increased to six feet in depth,

in the wood, without snow shoes. After consulting together, we at last resolved, next day, to take our remaining provisions on our backs, and coast along the ice, as, from its present appearance, it seemed as if it would continue some time longer; and the wind having drifted the greatest part of the snow off it, we computed that even in our present weak and reduced condition, we should be able to walk about ten miles a-day.

This being fully resolved, we proposed to set out on the morning of the twenty-fourth. But on the night preceding it, the wind came round to the south-east, and blew hard, attended with snow and rain; so that in the morning, as I already apprehended would be the case, the whole sheet of ice, which the evening before looked so firm, was demolished, or driven out to sea. Thus were all our schemes frustrated. We had neither ice to walk on, nor boat to carry us through the water; nor had we even a possibility of moving from this place, where we were embayed, and surrounded by precipices insurmountable.

Thus circumstanced, it was necessary again to turn our attention towards some scheme for repairing the boat, for on that our only hope depended. We had plenty of oakum to stop up the holes and seams, but nothing to substitute for pitch, which might exclude the water: I at length thought of a plan, which, I hoped, might have the desired effect, namely, throwing water over the oakum, and letting it freeze into a cake of ice. As soon as day appeared, I resolved to put my scheme to the test, and having cleared the boat of snow and gravel, immediately went to work. The men in general made light of my undertaking, and reluctantly assisted, thinking that they were wasting

their labour. However, I soon convinced them of the reverse, for by continually throwing water over the oakum, we froze up every hole and seam in such a manner, that, against four o'clock in the afternoon, not a drop of water could enter ; and so it would remain as long as the weather continued freezing as it then did.

We carefully launched the boat on the morning of the twenty-seventh, and 'set off' early, with a light breeze, directly from the shore. We had the satisfaction to observe, that the boat made little or no water, so that we could keep our four oars constantly going ; and in the evening computed that we had rowed twelve miles. This indeed was but an indifferent day's work, though great for us, because we were not only extremely weakened and reduced, but the boat was very heavy and unwieldy from the quantity of ice in it ; putting ashore on a small sandy beach, we cut some branches, and made a fire. Our tinder being nearly consumed, I was obliged to furnish a fresh supply, by cutting away the back part of my shirt, which I had wore ever since we left the ship.

A shower of rain the following day unfortunately melted all the ice off our boat, whence we were detained until the return of frost, and had the mortification to lose a fine day. Still more unfortunately our provisions were now reduced to two pounds and a half of beef for each man.

On the morning of the twenty-ninth, the mate having wandered a little distance from our fire, returned in haste to inform us, that he had discovered a partridge, perched on the bough of a tree, which he thought I might possibly devise some way of catching. I immediately went to the place where he had seen it, and found it in the same si-

uation. Observing that the bird was very tame, and not above fourteen feet from the ground, I cut down a long pole, and taking part of the rope yarn that fastened my canvas shoes, made a running loop of it, and fixed it to the end of the pole. Then walking softly under the tree, I fixed the loop about the partridge's neck, and, by a sudden jerk, closed it, and secured the bird. Both the mate and I laughed heartily as soon as I had caught it; this was the first time either of us felt any inclination to smile since our shipwreck. We then went towards the fire with our prize, and boiled it with some melted snow, together with a little salt water to give the broth a relish. It was then divided into six equal parts, and lots cast for each; and we sat down to what we found a delicious meal, the only one except the quart of cranberries, for which we were indebted to chance or Providence since we had been cast upon the island.

We took advantage of a hard frost on the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, to stop the boat's leaks as before. But the day being almost spent, we could not make above seven miles. Next morning we had not proceeded above six miles, when the wind freshening, obliged us to put ashore, and haul up the boat.

A heavy fall of rain, which continued the whole day, rendered our situation extremely uncomfortable, and again melted the icy caulking of the boat. Unluckily also, when we proposed to reconnoitre the country, we found that the snow would not bear our weight without snow shoes. We therefore walked along the shore, seeing nothing but some stumps of trees, apparently cut several years before.

The frost having returned, we were enabled to



launch the boat, and pursue our voyage, on the first of February; but the severity of the cold having formed a quantity of ice, it was with excessive labour, that we contrived to get five miles before night; one of our party being employed in breaking the ice with a pole, and clearing it from the bows of the boat.

A change of wind again prevented us from proceeding any farther; and on prosecuting the voyage, the boat made so much water, that one man was kept constantly baling with a camp kettle. After having run above sixteen miles, we discovered an exceeding high land, about six leagues distant, with several other mountains and large bays between us, which we were in hopes of reaching before night. About two in the afternoon, when supposing ourselves within three leagues of it, we saw an island towards twenty miles from the main, and, on comparing circumstances, we concluded that it must be the island of St Paul, and the high land the north point of Cape Breton. The prodigious height of the land led us into an erroneous computation of its distance, and it was almost dark before we reached it. Then finding no place to land, we were obliged to strike sail on account of the wind, and take to the oars, at which we continued all night.

About five in the morning, hearing the sea run on the shore very long and heavy, we conceived ourselves off a sandy beach. Accordingly we rowed towards the land, and at the distance of fifty yards, for it was yet dark, we were able to discern a beach at least four miles in length. It was not a convenient place for landing, on account of the surf, and a long heavy sea that rolled in;

nevertheless, we effected it without any other injury, than having the boat half filled with water.

We then got into the woods, which lay close to the shore, for I had taken the precaution to put our tinder-box in my bosom, and we contrived to kindle a fire, a necessary refreshment, as we had got wet in landing. We were all so weak and reduced, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could keep ourselves awake for a few minutes when before the fire, so that we were under the necessity of watching in turn, lest all being asleep together, the fire should go out, and we should be frozen to death. Having now leisure to consider every circumstance, we were fully satisfied of our being on the north cape of the island of Breton.

At this time our provisions were almost consumed, and not having the most distant prospect of procuring any more, we were ready to abandon ourselves to despair. As we were certain of being on an inhabited island, we might have flattered ourselves with the prospect of getting relief by persevering in our dilatory progress, if we had been provided with wherewithal to supply our immediate wants.

Having weighed the necessity of the case, and the misery of perishing by hunger, I was of opinion, as well as the mate, that it would be most advisable to sacrifice one of our number for the preservation of the rest; and that the most proper way would be by casting lots which should be the unfortunate victim. But this shocking, though prudent resolution, we agreed to put off to the last extremity.

We had not been able to secure our boat so effectually as to prevent the sea from beating her higher up on the beach, and filling her with sand.

Some therefore set to work clearing her of it, while the mate and myself travelled along the sandy beach in search of provisions. We saw a great quantity of oyster-shells lying on the shore, and examined them diligently in hopes of finding some that were full. Here we were disappointed, which made us curse our destiny, that we should have been cast away in so barren and miserable a country, and in such an unlucky time of the year, when we were not only deprived of the relief which we might have got at any other season from the natural productions of the earth, but when even the animals inhabiting both elements had retired to their holes and hiding places to shield themselves from the intense cold which prevails during winter in this inhospitable climate.

Notwithstanding the ill success we had hitherto experienced, we still continued our search, and, by turning up the snow, and searching in different parts of the bank, we gathered about two quarts of hips, or wild rose-buds. Having, in some degree, allayed the keen sense of hunger with this sorry food, we got into the boat and pushed off. The ice, however, soon obliged us to put ashore at another part of the same beach.

In landing, I had the misfortune to drop the tinder-box from my bosom into the water, which precluded us from the possibility of kindling a fire. Being exceedingly wet, as was generally the case when we landed, we were now in a most uncomfortable situation, and suffered much from the cold. We therefore thought it best to embark again in our boat with all expedition, and return to the place from whence we came, in hopes of finding some fire still kindled.

We got back with the greatest difficulty, being

the whole way under the necessity of breaking through the ice, which by this time had formed almost into a solid sheet. In the meanwhile we were extremely anxious, lest our fire should have gone out; and considered it a lucky circumstance that we had not been able to go farther from it:

On arriving at the former station, we had the satisfaction to find, that the fire was not totally extinguished; had it been so, we must have perished in the course of the night. Having repaired it, I cut up the remainder of my shirt to make more tinder, and as the damage our preceding stock received had proved nearly fatal to us, I resolved to take greater care of it in future.

The wind cleared off the ice on the 8th of February, and we departed at ten o'clock. At night we obtained better shelter within a large rock from the wind and sea; and next day, after proceeding about eight miles, the wind increasing, raised a considerable swell, which forced us to steer towards the shore. In landing, two of our oars were unluckily washed overboard by the surf.

On the following day, we double manned our two remaining oars, and made about six miles before night. This, from our weak condition, was a very hard day's work, for we were so much reduced in strength, owing to long privation of nourishment, that when we got on shore, we could scarcely walk fifty yards together.

Unfavourable weather on the eleventh obliged us to remain here the whole day, where we were fortunate enough to find a few rose buds, at present esteemed by us a great delicacy. Without this supply, we should have been obliged to put our above-mentioned scheme in execution. We



thought ourselves extremely unlucky, never once to find so much as the dead carcase of any animal. At different times we had hopes of catching some of the otters, which we frequently saw on the ice; but we never found them at any distance from the holes, which they continually kept open for a free passage in and out of the water. We likewise discovered, at various times, some beavers houses, but could not ensnare any of the animals.

On the twelfth we continued to proceed, and on the thirteenth the weather proved milder, attended with a fall of rain; whence we could hardly get the boat to swim, as the ice melted off the bottom. This forced us to put ashore before night.

Having carefully reconnoitred all around, and searched in every part under the snow, we were unable to find even the miserable sustenance of rose buds. Driven to the last extremity, we were necessitated to sacrifice the prospect of travelling further to the immediate preservation of our lives. About a dozen tallow candles remained, which had hitherto been employed in stopping the leaks of the boat as soon as they sprung. Of these we divided a small part, which gave us relief for the present. The two following days we coasted a few miles in search of hips, intending, if we found them, to draw up the boat, and remain until they were consumed.

We now began to be fully sensible of our desperate situation, and to expect that our fate would be perishing of hunger. Notwithstanding this terrible anticipation, what gave me most uneasiness was, that my friends would ever remain ignorant of our wretched catastrophe. It preyed

upon my spirits, slight as such a consideration may seem compared with the dread of death. That it might be prevented as far as possible, I took every opportunity of cutting out my name on the bark of the largest trees. The fatigue of cutting, as well the preservation of my knife, which I have already observed, was the only one among us, would not admit of my being more particular. But on the walls of the storehouses formerly discovered, I wrote a brief account of our disasters in English and French, and requested if any persons should fall in with it, that they would transmit it to my father at Quebec.

On the seventeenth, we made another division of the tallow candles; and advancing above five miles on the eighteenth, to a sandy beach, with a fine flat country, we resolved to put on shore, and perish in this place, unless some unforeseen accident should interpose for our relief. We were so much debilitated, that we knew we could not proceed much further; and it being a vain attempt to try to draw up our boat, she remained exposed to the mercy of the sea.

We cleared away the snow from a particular spot, at the entrance of a wood, and having cut some small branches of pine to lie upon, and stuck some larger into the surrounding bank of snow for shelter, we made a fire. This done, we all went in search of hips, and had the good fortune to collect about a pint, which boiled up with a couple of tallow candles, afforded us a comfortable meal.

The next day we passed without any kind of provision; and apprehensive that our little remaining strength would soon desert us, we employed it in cutting and piling as much wood as we were able to supply the fire. We had preserv-

ed our axe, a saw, and the sail of the boat, which we used as a covering. Meanwhile the waves had beat the boat so high up as to be quite dry, which precluded us, had we even been so disposed, from the power of putting to sea again, as our whole strength could not move her a single foot.

All the nineteenth was unsuccessfully occupied in search of hips; the candles were therefore the only resource, and they were now reduced to two. The following day we ~~and~~ and ourselves so much weakened as to be incapable of using the axe, and were thence under the necessity of creeping about in our turns to gather the rotten branches of trees, scattered on the ground for fire wood. Wanting a proper quantity of fuel, we could only maintain a fire that was just sufficient to keep us from freezing; the weather was still as cold as in the month of December.

At this time having no more than two tallow candles remaining, and no longer finding any possibility of gathering hips, we thought that we might probably derive nourishment from the kelp weed lying on the shore. Accordingly we collected a little, and boiled it with melted snow a few hours in a kettle; but it was then very little tenderer than at the beginning. Next we melted one of our tallow candles in the liquor, and supping it up, and eating a quantity of the weed, our appetites became somewhat satiated. However, in two hours all were affected with a very uneasy sensation, and soon after seized with a fit of vomiting, which continued about four hours. We were then tolerably easy, but extremely exhausted.

On the twenty-second, we used some more kelp weed, and our last candle. It still operated in the same manner, but with less violence than

before. Severe frost setting in, we made a faint attempt to launch the boat, without being able to move her one inch on the shore, which forced us to abandon our design. The candles being all consumed, we were under the necessity of boiling the kelp without tallow, which however nauseous at any other time, then not only afforded us some kind of nourishment, but even an exquisite relish.

But after living three days on it solely, we began to swell to an alarming degree. We were at a loss whether to ascribe this to the kelp or to the cold, because we were unable to keep a sufficient fire. However, I ascribed it to the former, for notwithstanding the severity of cold to which we were at other times exposed, and frequently without any shelter whatever, no such extraordinary symptoms ensued. On the contrary, we were as much reduced in bulk as in strength, whereas, in a few days, the swelling had increased to such a degree all over our bodies, that even with the little flesh on our bones, we could sink our fingers two inches deep on the skin, and their impression remained visible for above half an hour after. Hunger nevertheless compelled us to keep to the same diet.

We passed a few days more in the same manner; at the expiration of which, we were so much swollen as almost to be deprived of sight, and so greatly reduced in strength, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could keep our fire in, by successively crawling about, and breaking the rotten branches that lay scattered on the snow.

The time was now arrived when I thought it highly expedient to put the plan before mentioned into execution; but on feeling the pulse of my companions, I found some of them rather averse



to the proposal. The desire of life still prevailed above every other sentiment, notwithstanding the wretchedness of our condition, and the impossibility of preserving it by any other method.

I thought it an extraordinary instance of infatuation, that men should prefer the certainty of a lingering and miserable death, to the distant chance of escaping one more immediate and less painful. However, on consulting with the mate what was to be done, I found that although they objected to the proposal of casting lots for the victim; yet all concurred in the necessity of some one being sacrificed for the preservation of the rest. The only question was how it should be determined; when by a kind of reasoning more agreeable to the dictates of self-love than justice, it was agreed, that as the captain was now so exceedingly reduced as to be evidently the first who would sink under our present complicated misery; as he had been the person to whom we considered ourselves in some measure indebted for all our misfortunes; and further, as he had ever since our shipwreck been the most remiss in his exertions towards the general good,—he was undoubtedly the person who should be the first sacrificed.

I must confess, that I then thought there was some colour of truth in the conclusion. Yet I was not a little shocked at the captain's intended fate, though I had greater reason than any one else to be incensed against him. Not only was this from his want of duty, and his mal-practices at the hut in purloining our provisions, but also I discovered, after our shipwreck, that notwithstanding his ostensible destination was for New York, his real one was for the West Indies.

The determination now adopted was kept a profound secret from the captain; and it would have

been impossible for us to have survived many days longer, without putting it in execution. But on the 28th of February, while all lying about the fire, we thought that we heard the sound of human voices in the woods. Soon afterwards we discovered two Indians carrying guns in their hands, who did not seem yet to have observed us. The sight of them inspired us with fresh strength and spirits; and getting up, we advanced towards them with the greatest eagerness imaginable.

As soon as we were discovered by the Indians, they started back, and appeared fixed to the ground for a few moments with surprise and horror. It is not indeed to be wondered at, on considering that, besides the amazement they must naturally have felt at meeting white men in this uninhabited part of the island, our appearance was enough to alarm the most intrepid. Our clothes being almost entirely burnt off, several parts of our bodies were bare; our limbs were swollen to a prodigious bulk; our eyes from the same cause almost invisible, and our hair in a confused and dishevelled state about our heads, for we had not been able to comb it since our shipwreck.

As we advanced towards the Indians, some of us wept, and some laughed with joy. Being a little recovered from their surprise, they did not shew much inclination to accost us, till I got up to one of them, and took him by the hand; when he shook it for some time very heartily, which is the usual mode of salutation among the Indians.

At length they began to testify signs of compassion at our distressed appearance, and I conceive that their shyness at first proceeded from the repugnance it inspired. They accompanied us to our fire, and sitting down together at it, by desire of one who could speak a little broken

French, I informed him whence we came, and of the disasters we had experienced. During my recital, he appeared to be much affected by our sufferings.

I then asked the Indian if he could furnish us with any kind of provisions, which he answered in the affirmative. Observing that we had very little fire, he suddenly started up and took our axe in his hand. Looking at it and laughing heartily, as I suppose, at the badness of it, he threw it down again; and taking his tomahawk, a small hatchet always carried by the Indians, from his side, he, in a short time, cut a quantity of wood which he brought and threw on our fire. Having done so he took up his gun, and, without saying a word, went off with his companion.

This to persons ignorant of the Indian manners, would have been an alarming circumstance, but I was so well acquainted with the dispositions of these people, who seldom speak when there is not absolute occasion for it, that I had no doubt they were gone for some provisions, and that we should very soon see them again. Notwithstanding the length of time we had been without nourishment, I confess that I had very little inclination to eat; the fire which the Indian had made was the greatest refreshment to us, who had been for many days without a good one.

After about three hours had elapsed, during which interval some of our party were not void of anxiety lest the Indians should never return, we perceived them at a short distance, coming round a point in a bark canoe. Having landed on the beach, they took some smoked venison, and a bladder of seal oil out of it, which they brought up to our fire-place, and putting some of the meat into our kettle, boiled it in melted snow, and then gave

Each a very small quantity, together with a little oil. I knew very well their reason for being so sparing of the meat. A quantity of gross food, in our present state, might have been productive of the worst consequences, and it gave me no inconsiderable pleasure to find the Indians so careful of us.

• This light repast ended, they desired three of us to embark in their canoe, these being all that she would carry at a time; and proceed to their hut, which lay in the middle of the woods about five miles distant by water, and a mile from the shore. At the sea-side, we were received by three other Indians, and about twelve or fourteen women and children, who had there waited our arrival. These last conducted us to their habitation in the woods, while the two Indians returned for our companions. This habitation consisted of three huts, or wigwams, inhabited by the same number of families; and on our reaching them we were treated with the greatest humanity. They supplied us with broth, but would not suffer us to eat meat, or any kind of substantial food whatever.

The two Indians then returned with our companions, when having all received a tolerable refreshment, I was desired, at the request of a very old woman, who appeared mistress, or mother of the families present, to give them an account of our transactions since the day of the shipwreck. The Indian who understood French, explained it in his own language, and the old woman, I could perceive, was exceedingly affected at certain parts of it.

As soon as I had ended speaking, the old woman rose up, and after supplying us with some more broth, desired the interpreter to explain to us the shipwreck of the famous partisan, St Luc



Lacorne, on his passage from Canada to France. He informed me that this gentleman, of whose shipwreck I had already heard something, was cast away directly on the North Cape. That a great many persons were drowned on the occasion, among whom were two of M. St Luc's own children, who were drowned in his arms as he was attempting to carry them on shore. The Indian likewise informed me, that after his having remained five days there, and ~~suffered~~ suffered much from cold and hunger, he himself had relieved and conducted him to Louisburg. For this service, he said, M. Luc was indebted to him thirty pounds, which he promised to remit from Halifax, but had never done so. Whether this part of the story was true or not, I had no means of ascertaining; M. St Luc was himself best acquainted with it. One thing I am satisfied of, however, that considering the season of the year when the journey was performed, the poor Indians must have earned the money very dearly.

Our hosts did every thing in their power to reduce the swelling of our limbs, which they accomplished at length, with much difficulty; and thus having provided for our own immediate wants, our thoughts recurred to those unfortunate men whom we had left near the wreck. We laboured under great anxiety lest, by this time, they should have perished of hunger; yet should it so happen that they might still survive, I determined to omit no means which could be devised for their preservation.

I described to the Indians the part of the island where we were cast away, and asked them if it was possible to go to the relief of our comrades. They replied that they knew the place perfectly well, ~~that~~ that it was above one hundred miles distant,

through very difficult paths, over rivers and mountains; and added, that if they undertook the journey, they must expect some compensation for their trouble. This indeed was but reasonable; for it could not be expected that they should leave their hunting, from the produce of which alone their wives and families subsisted, to undergo such fatigue through pure benevolence: And as to the distance, I could easily credit their account, as I knew that we had come above a hundred and fifty miles by water.

I then, for the first time, informed them that I had money, in truth it did not before occur to me that I had any; and that if it were an object, I should pay them for their trouble. They seemed much pleased at hearing that I had money, and asked me to let them look at it. Taking my purse from my servant, I showed the hundred and eighty guineas; and observing an eagerness in their countenances at the sight of them, which I little expected among Indians, and that the women, in particular, had taken a strong fancy to it, I presented each with a guinea. For this, they expressed their satisfaction by laughing, the only method among these savages of displaying every sentiment of nature.

I was resolved to save the survivors, if any there were, let the demands of the Indians be ever so exorbitant. At last we made an agreement that they should set off next day, which was the second of March, and that they should receive twenty-five guineas at their departure, and the like sum on their return. This matter adjusted, they immediately set to work in making a proper number of mockasins and snow-shoes, both for themselves and the shipwrecked men; and having received the covenanted sum, three of them set off the following morning.

My situation was not nearly so comfortable after these people knew I had money, as before; they became as mercenary as they had been charitable, and exacted above ten times the value of every article furnished to myself and my companions. Besides, which, I was under constant apprehension, lest, incited by this extraordinary passion for money, they should plunder and leave us in the same destitute condition in which they found us.

The only thing on which I rested my hopes of better treatment, was their religion, for they were Christians, and very rigid Catholics, having been converted by the French. They were very assiduous in their devotions both night and morning, and frequently gave us cause, indeed, to wish they had not been quite so devout, by disturbing us all night with their psalm-singing. My servant being an Irish Catholic, they were exceedingly fond of him, and heaped their favours on him most profusely.

It was some time before we had recovered any degree of strength, or could digest any substantial food; what we got from the Indians consisted of the flesh of the moose-deer, and seal oil, on which they subsist entirely during the time of hunting.

Although we found ourselves pretty comfortably situated among the savages after our late miseries, I was anxious to get away, on account of the dispatches with which I was charged, which I thought might be of the utmost consequence to his majesty's service, particularly from knowing that the duplicates of them were lost. However, I continued in such a weak condition, that it was impossible for me to move for some time, finding, as well as my fellow-sufferers, that such a shock to the constitution was not to be easily repaired.

After near a fortnight's absence, the Indians arrived with three men, in a reduced and miserable state, who were the only survivors of the eight left behind in the hut. They told me, that having consumed all the beef after I departed, they subsisted some days on the skin of the moose-deer, which we had left entire not thinking it worthy of partition. This finished, three died of hunger in a few days, and the survivors were under the necessity of subsisting on their flesh, until the Indians came and relieved them. One of the remaining five was so imprudently ravenous, on the arrival of the Indians, as to eat such a quantity of meat, that he expired in a few hours, in the most excruciating agonies; and another, soon afterwards, accidentally shot himself with one of the Indian's guns. Thus was our number, originally consisting of nineteen persons, now reduced to nine, and it may be the subject of wonder, how so many could, for the space of three months, undergo such complicated distresses from excessive cold, fatigue, and hunger.

We all remained another fortnight among the Indians, during which I was obliged to pay, as before, a most exorbitant price for our diet, and for every necessary we were provided with. My health being, by this time, somewhat re-established, and my money very much reduced, I resolved to prefer the good of the service to my own convenience, and proceed as fast as possible with General Haldimand's dispatches, though it was now the most unfit season of the year for travelling. I therefore made an agreement with the Indians to conduct me to Halifax, by which I was to pay them forty-five pounds, and furnish them with provisions and all necessaries, at every inhabited place on our way.



It was settled, that, on the 2d of April, I should depart with two Indians, and that Mr Winslow, a young gentleman, who had been a passenger on board of the vessel, should accompany me, as also my own servant. The Indians were to conduct the remainder of our party to a settlement on Spanish River, about fifty miles distant, where they were to wait for an opportunity of getting by sea to Halifax in spring. Previous to parting I gave the captain cash for a bill on his owner at New York, that he might provide for the immediate subsistence of himself and the sailors; which bill was afterwards protested by the owner, on the pretence that neither master nor crew were entitled to any wages, the ship being lost.

We accordingly set off on the day appointed, each carrying four pair of Indian shoes, or moccasins, a pair of snow-shoes, and fifteen days provisions. The same day we got to a place called by the English the Broad Oar, where we were detained until the fourth by a storm of snow. We then proceeded to a place called Broad Dock, at the mouth of Lake St Peter, where we met two families of Indians, who were hunting, and, for five pounds, purchased a bark canoe. I was also obliged to purchase two Indian sleighs, in which to drag it on arriving at ice.

On the seventh we proceeded for a few miles along the lake, but the ice being bad, we were soon obliged to take to the woods. A thaw next coming on, made the snow, now six feet deep, so soft and heavy that we could travel no longer with our snow-shoes. We were, therefore, obliged to remain here four days that the thaw continued, and we became very apprehensive that the ice would give way altogether. This would have occasioned a delay of two or three weeks until it

should be entirely cleared off the lake, and might reduce us to a condition equally distressing as our former one, excepting that we were provided with arms and ammunition.

However, the frost returned on the 12th, and we set off the day ensuing, when we travelled about six leagues, sometimes on floating pieces of ice, and sometimes in our canoe, where the lake was open. Our provisions being almost exhausted on the 14th, we fortunately shot a very fine moose-deer, which weighed about six hundred pounds. We carried more than an hundred pounds of its flesh, and also some of the blood, along with us. Thus stocked, we felt no apprehensions of want, in case the weather should return mild.

Next morning we set off, and made about six leagues in the same manner as before; and our strength being greatly exhausted, we agreed to make a halt of two days in the woods. Choosing a spot which abounded with pine trees and other evergreens, the Indians speedily made us a comfortable habitation of their boughs. The wigwams which they thus construct, are excellent shelter from the wind and falling snow, and are proof against any thing but heavy rain.

On the eighteenth and nineteenth we travelled onwards, meeting nothing remarkable. This is one of the finest lakes in America, about twenty leagues in length, and eight in breadth. Had it been sufficiently frozen, we could have saved several leagues by crossing from point to point, and from one island to another; instead of being obliged, as we were, to go round the greatest part of the bays on one side of it.

On the twentieth we arrived at a place called

St Peters, where there were four or five French and English families settled. I was here very politely received and entertained at the house of Mr Savanaugh, a merchant, who, though I was an entire stranger to him, took my draft for two hundred pounds on my father.

I should have taken a shallop or fishing-boat from this place to Halifax, had there not been almost a certainty of being captured by some privateer along the coast. This lake, 'St Peter,' is but half a mile from the ocean, to which we carried our canoe, after stocking ourselves with provisions and other necessaries, to proceed by water to the Gut of Canceau. We set off on the twenty-second, and arrived at a place called by the French Grand Grave, where there was a family or two of that nation. From the height of the wind, we remained here all night, and on the twenty-third reached a settlement called Discousse, where we were detained another day by floating ice.

On the twenty-fifth, we got to a place named Narraschoc, where we were hospitably entertained as we had been at St Peters. Here I exchanged the remains of my regimental coat for a brown suit of clothes, intending to pass for the master of a ship, in case I should be taken by any of the American privateers at Canceau: and as the inhabitants of this place gave me to understand, that the people of Canceau were very much disaffected to our government, I took every precaution to disguise the appearance of an officer.

On the twenty-sixth we proceeded to the point of Isle Madame, intending to cross the great passage, which is called the Gut of Canceau. Finding there was still a great quantity of floating ice, we returned to Narraschoc to procure a small sloop or vessel that could resist it. Next day, hav-

g provided one, in which we also embarked our  
the canoe, we crossed the passage, which is eight  
agues, in three hours. The men navigating the  
essel were apprehensive of meeting American  
ivateers, lying in the harbour of Canceau, which  
nduced me to commit my dispatches and papers  
o one of the Indians, as I knew the Americans  
ever attempted to search or plunder any of them.  
Fortunately, however, we saw no privateers lying  
in the harbour.

Here I went to the house of the principal man,  
a Mr Rust; but having been informed, that he  
supplied the New England cruisers with almost  
every necessary that his stores could afford, I was  
determined to be very cautious of what I said in  
his presence. I passed for the captain of a ship,  
and he asked me a number of questions, the ten-  
dency of which I could easily perceive, and there-  
fore returned as evasive answers as possible. I  
found that he had a brother-in-law, who was first  
lieutenant on board a sixteen gun brig, belonging  
to Boston, which had gone out of Canceau har-  
bour the day before.

We remained until three o'clock next morning,  
when, apprehensive of treachery on the part of  
our pretended friends, we set off without giving  
Mr Rust any warning. For a small quantity of pro-  
visions which I bought from this gentleman, I  
had to pay at least three times its value.

We had now to proceed in our canoe along the  
coast to Halifax, and had reason to dread that we  
should again be distressed for provisions. But we  
were fortunate enough to find in our progress  
plenty of lobsters and other fish, which the In-  
dians caught with amazing dexterity; killing the  
flat fish with a pointed pole, and the lobsters with  
a cloven one. Ten days were occupied in the



voyage, during which time we fell in with no settlement, nor saw any thing remarkable, excepting a number of piccaroons on various parts of the coast.

The Indians remained a few days at Halifax, where they received the balance of the money due to them, and then returned to their island. Here I was obliged to continue for about two months longer, until an opportunity occurred of obtaining a passage in a ship, called the Royal Oak, to New-York. Here I delivered my dispatches, though in a very tattered condition, to Sir Henry Clinton.

The rest of my fellow sufferers in the shipwreck arrived soon afterwards at Halifax, in a shallop from Spanish River. The captain, conscious of the reception he might expect, did not think fit to go his owner at New-York, to give an account of the loss of the vessel. On the contrary, he took a passage from Halifax, and was a considerable time after serving as a pilot on the Thames. The mate, on account of his good conduct during the whole of our transactions, was appointed by a gentleman in Halifax to the command of a ship bound to the West Indies."

END OF VOLUME SECOND.











